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ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME VI

JULY-OCTOBER, 1923

NUMBER 1-2

Illinois Catholic Historical Society

617 ASHLAND BLOCK, CHICAGO

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Illinois Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME VI

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MARQUETTE AND JOLLIET

INTRODUCTION

The 250th anniversary year of the discovery and exploration of the Illinois country by Father James Marquette, S. J., and Louis Jolliet is drawing to a close. These two men, the first white men known to have been in what is now the State of Illinois, spent therein a considerable part of the month of August 1673.

In the language of different writers, mainly non-Catholic, various phases of the momentous journey are herein described.

The reports of the various observances of the anniversary are alluded to in more or less detail for the purpose of rounding out the record of the journey. In this particular the account is but partial, since numerous observances were held in various schools, in Councils of the Knights of Columbus and under other auspices which could not well be here recorded.

It is the purpose of this issue devoted as it is to Marquette and Jolliet, to put in permanent form the firmly established historical facts of the discovery of the Illinois country, and make these facts easily accessible. It may be noted here that until John Gilmary Shea, in the first instance, and Reuben Gold Thwaites, latterly, published the text of letters written by the early Jesuit Missionaries who labored in this region, very little was known even by scholars of the discovery, exploration and early settlement of the Mississippi Valley. Indeed, up to the time Thwaites succeeded in bringing out the monumental work entitled *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, it is believed that even the main incidents of the discovery, exploration and settlement of this region were not known to more than a

score of the residents of the State of Illinois. Now, of course, the knowledge of this extremely interesting period of our history is much more widely diffused, but we doubt if any single publication now extant tells the story as completely as does this present publication.

The present is but the first of three anniversary years of Father Marquette's connection with this region. This is the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers; next year will occur the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Father Marquette's residence in what is now Chicago, and the next year thereafter, 1925, will be the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his establishment of the Church in Mid-America.

Because of the importance of the discovery and making known the great river which was really the primary object of the undertaking it was fitting that the principal observances should occur in the region of the Mississippi. Accordingly the celebrations began at the very point where the expedition reached the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Wisconsin River and at the city which has grown up there, Prairie du Chien.

From Prairie du Chien the route of the discoverers was taken up and their journey reproduced as far as Burlington, Iowa, with appropriate ceremonies and exercises all along the route and especially notable ceremonies at Burlington. All this is detailed herein and a record of these observances together with the accurate historical narratives reproduced herewith, made possible largely by the enterprise of the publishers of *The Palimpsest*, the organ of the State Historical Society of Iowa, will stand as a memorial of the anniversary.

The duty we owe Father Marquette is not discharged in full, however. Chicago should celebrate next year the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the arrival and residence within what is now Chicago, of the first white man, the great Father of Chicago. Nor will a celebration of that event, be it ever so notable, acquit us of our obligation to the great discoverer, explorer and missionary. The establishment of the Church in Mid-America should be appropriately celebrated in 1925, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of that most important event.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

CHRONOLOGY OF FATHER MARQUETTE JOURNEYS TO THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

As is well known, Rev. James Marquette, S. J., made two voyages to the Illinois country.

On the first one he was accompanied by Louis Jolliet and five Frenchmen in two canoes. On this voyage the party passed down the Mississippi river to the Arkansas, returned up the Mississippi to the Illinois, thence over the Illinois and Desplaines to the Chicago river, down the Chicago river to Lake Michigan and up the western shore of the lake to St. Ignace from whence the journey was begun.

On his second voyage he was accompanied by only two men, Pierre Porteret and Jacques LeCastor. On this journey he visited only two points—Chicago and the Village of the Kaskaskia Indians, located on the site of the present city of Utica. His itinerary on these voyages was as follows:¹

FIRST VOYAGE

December 8, 1762—Notified by Jolliet of his selection by Frontenac to accompany Jolliet on the voyage of discovery.

May 17, 1673—Embarked from the mission of St. Ignace at Michilimackinac (now Mackinac).

June 7, 1673—Arrived at the village of the Maskoutens near the present town of Berlin, Wisconsin, on the upper Fox river where Father Marquette found a decorated cross and where he stayed three days.

June 10—Left the Maskoutens with two guides who were Miami.

June 17—Entered the Mississippi river—the date of discovery.

June 25—Reached the Des Moines or Iowa river, preached to the Illinois tribe there present, was received with delight, banqueted, visited all of their villages and left the next day.

July 17—Started on the return voyage from the mouth of the Arkansas river.

¹Data from Father Marquette's two accounts and account of Father Claude Dablon, Father Marquett's superior, all reproduced in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LIX.

August 15—On or about this date a stay of three days was made at Peoria Lake where Marquette preached the Gospel and baptized a dying infant.

August 20—On or about this date Marquette stopped at the village of the Kaskaskias and promised to return and establish a mission.

August 25—On or about this date sighted and named Mount Jolliet.

September 30—Arrived at St. Ignace from whence they had started.

Francois Mission

SECOND VOYAGE

October 25, 1674—Left the Mission of St. Francois Xavier at De Pere, Wisconsin, to return to the village of the Kaskaskia.

October 28—Arrived at the portage of Sturgeon Bay, Door County Peninsula, Wisconsin, where he stopped three days due to bad weather.

October 31—Sets out again, November 4th, delayed at Sheboygan river.

December 4—Reached the river of the portage (Chicago) where he remained seven days.

December 12—Encamped near the portage two leagues up the river and resolved to winter there.

December 15—Said the Mass of the Conception.

February 1, 1765—Began a Novena for relief from his sickness.

February 9—Relieved of his sickness.

March 30—Started from the cabin for the village of the Kaskaskias.

April 8—Arrived at the village of the Kaskaskias and spent three days preaching and exhorting in the Indian cabins.

April 11—Holy Thursday. Established the Church.

April 14—Easter Sunday. Said Mass and preached farewell. Left for his return after Easter.

May 18, 1675—Died near the present site of Ludington, Michigan.

June 8, 1677—His remains after being disinterred by a tribe of Ottawa Indians were transferred and buried in the mission chapel near Point St. Ignace at the head of East Moran Bay.

September 3, 1877—The remains were discovered by Very Reverend E. Jacker and a monument erected there.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

There is not a little reason for satisfaction in reviewing the enthusiasm with which the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the discovery of the Mississippi, last June, was taken in hand and carried through. As of right, the festivities were kept at Prairie du Chien, just above the mouth of the Wisconsin River, since this was the scene of the discovery. The program occupied part of Saturday, the 16th, and all of the following day. The city of Prairie du Chien was the official sponsor of the occasion; and Prairie du Chien men and women devoted themselves to the fullest extent in making it a success. As a sketch of the event will show, however, there was unstinted co-operation from many quarters, furnishing happiest evidence that the interest in the historic commemoration was both widespread and glowing.

After the due pomp and circumstance of a street parade, Saturday noon, the throng assembled at Campion Field for the opening address by the Honorable David S. Rose, former mayor of Milwaukee. There was more than the advantage of convenience in holding many of the exercises at Campion College. It is within open view of the bluffs marking the union of the rivers; and Father Marquette's own brother-Jesuits are its faculty. It was natural that Mr. Rose should have developed his theme in close relation to so suggestive a circumstance. A ball game between the Dubuque Sox and the Lancaster Braves followed the address; and the evening had its band concert, as did the following one.

On Sunday morning a Solemn High Mass was celebrated at a field altar erected in front of Marquette Hall, Campion College. It was an impressive service, with a great throng in attendance. The Reverend A. H. Rohde, S. J., President of Campion College, was celebrant. The sermon, by the Reverend A. J. Tallmadge, S. J., arch-diocesan director of the Holy Name Society, Milwaukee, was an appropriate application of the spiritual principles of Father Marquette to our living needs.

The afternoon program took place on the grounds of St. Mary's College—a beautiful location and the best adapted in town for the multitude (newspapers reported from eight to twelve thousand) who came to hear and to see. The chairman first read a letter from President Harding expressing intimate personal interest in the his-

toric significance of the day, and briefer letters of regret from the Governors of Illinois and Minnesota, on their inability to attend. The State Historical Society was then represented by Judge Franz Eschweiler of the Supreme Court, who read an address of much dignity. The Reverend Albert C. Fox, S. J., President of Marquette University, in thoroughly stirring periods, developed living proof from the very occasion in hand that the American spirit is not a materialistic spirit. Senator Horchem of Iowa, representing Governor Kendall, added tribute to the co-discoverers' fame by setting forth the natural resources of the country they opened to white immigration. The final address was that of Governor Blaine who made immediate contact with the interest of the throng on four sides of him, and throughout a sustained discourse, historical and interpretative, despite a fervent summer sun, kept his audience intent. The Governor's presence would have won appreciation in any case. The vivacity and frequent special felicity of his address commanded redoubled gratitude.

The Pageant of the Father of Waters, which followed the speeches, deserves a story of its own. Here it must suffice to say that no celebration could have been other than a decided success with this one feature to support it. Some six hundred people participated in the episodes, historic and allegorical. Costuming, singing and dancing, in the midst of a lovely natural setting, were factors of a graceful delight that left happy record in the memory. The writer and director of the Pageant, Miss Cora Frances Desmond of La Crosse, is entitled to all possible credit for her talent and for her intrepid zeal; and a special portion of the praise due the performers belongs to those who accompanied her from La Crosse.

The last event of the celebration had its own unique value—the unveiling of a granite memorial of the discovery, on the heights of the Nelson Dewey State Park, immediately overlooking the mouth of the Wisconsin. Addresses by the Rev. A. H. Rohde, S. J., President of Campion College, and other members of the Executive Committee, accompanied this ceremony, which took place about seven o'clock, Sunday evening—close to the very hour, it is said, of the explorers' arrival. The newly erected slab bears witness to all comers of the notableness of the scene before them: "At the foot of this eminence," runs the inscription, "Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet entered the Mississippi River, June 17, 1673"; and in smaller characters, "Erected by the Knights of Columbus, June 17, 1923."

The observance above described was one of the most notable of public exercises in recent years. The outstanding feature of the program was the pageant play, "The Father of Waters," enacted on



REV. JACQUES MARQUETTE, S. J.

(The only likeness of Father Marquette for which any claim of authenticity has been made. See Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXX).

St. Mary's College grounds, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, through the following organization:

Personnel of Directors—Master of Pageant, Cora Frances Desmond.

Organization—Director of Groups, Mrs. James Devereaux; Chief Marshal, Herman Craig; Director of Band, Harvey Haltmeyer; Accompanists, Miss Elizabeth George of LaCrosse and Miss Willa Cherrier; Dance Director, Miss Calverna Linee, LaCrosse; Chorus Chairmen, H. V. Day, Joe Kopan.

Committees—Children: Mrs. Anthony Gleason, Mrs. Arthur Lawless, Mrs. Frank Voth, Mrs. E. C. Amann and Mrs. Cherrier; Costumes: Kaiser & Son; Flowers: St. Vincent de Paul Society, Catholic Women's Club; Grounds: Mr. Arthur McCloskey.

The play was outlined as follows:

Father of Waters, Part I, Overture, Heralds—(1) Hear ye, hear ye, all ye people and attend to the pageant of "The Father of Waters," Arthur Lawless; (2) Here shall be unfolded the story of the discovery of the Mississippi River, A. W. Thompson; (3) Here shall be unfolded the story of Prairie du Chien's part in the history of Wisconsin, Arthur Fagan; (4) Here shall be revealed the power of religion, Walter Schultz.

Episode I, Scene I; The Old World: The Court of France, 1602—King of France, Dr. F. J. Antoine; Queen of France, Mrs. Thos. Bergen; Samuel de Champlain, James Devereaux; Pages, Thomas Bergen, Frederick Grelle, Robert Pendleton, George Lengst; Courtiers, Misses Ruth McCloskey, Josephine Wall, Mary Wall, Sallie Schultz, Mesdames F. Pohler, H. H. C. Kast, Chas. Armstrong, Galligan, Henry Seipp, J. H. Widmann, Sr., Chas. McGee, A. A. Watzke, M. Lenehan, Fred Schrader, F. Rowley, W. R. Graves; Messrs. Joe Kopan, Don Keller, Bob Armstrong, Henry Vanek, Chas. Crowley, Bob Crowley, Thos. Haupt, Francis Corken, Wallace Bronson, Harvey Bronson, Albert O'Neil, Harvey Doerring, Theodore Kraegel, F. Gander, Ed Martner, J. Doran and L. Cherrier.

Scene II—The New World: The Spirit of America, Miss Inez Crowley; Fairies, Evalyn McClure, Agnes Derusha, Leon LaBonne, Annabell Crowley, Louise Thomas, Lowell Evans, Bernadine Joy, Dorothy Evans, Veronica Chabela and Margaret McClure.

Interlude I.—The Indian's Prayer, Fred Hankerson, LaCrosse.

Episode II—The Indian's Reveries; Father Time enters followed by groups representing minutes, hours, days, seasons, and some of nature's forces: Sprites, butterflies, and bunnies. Father Time, Dr. R. W. Fallis; Pages, Rose Mary Kingston, Jack Schweiger; Minutes, Edna Feeney, Margaret Curran, Ann Silbersmidt, Ursula Corken; Hours, Rosemary Feeney, Marion Evans, Ruth Bergen, Helen Feeney, Hazel Stram, Marcella Bergen; Days, George Nauret, Alberta Belrichard, Uda Steiner, Mildred Scherlin, Lisetta Graves, Luella Kuchenbecker; Spring, Thelma Valley, Marguerite Voth, Goldie Goldberg, Dora Goldberg, Marie Fleeman, Mary Lawless, Wilhelmina Miller, Joseph Valley, Edward McClure, Beatrice Gilbertson, Luella Allen, Marie Doser, Marie DesRocher, Carrie Giesler, Leonard Chabela, Charlotte Young, Metta Valant, Lucille Hagene, Anna Lucy Hoffman, Catherine DeMuth; Solo Dancer, Margaret Gautenbein, LaCrosse; Chairman, Miss Curran; Sprites—Lucille Reed, Grace Martner, Florence Pinkerton; Summer, Albert LaBonne, David Graves, Harold Young, Harold White, Gladys Kasperek, Jimmie Cornford, Emma Kalina, Leona Mara, Dorothy Stram,

Dorothy Valley, Marie Cardine, Violet Young, Francis DuCharme, Julia Blazek, Jane Hoffman, Ona Steiner, Virginia Cornford, May Ziel, Freddie Pohlman; Dancers, Margaret Gautenbein, Jane Orton, Dorothy Kroner and Katherine Wolfe; Butterflies, Caroline Zach, Marie Zlazek, Josephine Tench, Ellen Long, Catherine Rod, Celia Mara; Dancers, Margaret Gautenbein, Jane Orton, Dorothy Kroner and Katherine Wolfe; Autumn, Joe Hess, Arthur Henry, Frederick Barney, Kenneth Smith, Carl Gaulke, Anita Allen, Grace Meyer, Margaret Valley, Margaret Dorsey, Lillian White, Betty Hoffman, Marguerite Lawless, Dorothy Gokey, Elaine Schweiger, Marie Mara, Dorothy Sime, Florence Konichek, Catherine Rod, Bessie Nicholson, Dorothy Bender, Caroline Zach, Marie Blazek, Helen Stevens, Josephine Finch, Ellen Long, Fern Hoppe, Louise DuCharme, Helen DesRocher; Bunnies, Miss Quilligan, chairman; One Wainwright, Lorraine Mueller, Irene Hildebrand, Dorothy Herold, Dorothy Noble, Margaret Davenport, William Allen, Paul Amann, James Wiswall, Franklin Shaub, Clayton Barney, Louis Maxwell; Dancers, Jane Orton and Katherine Wolfe; Winter, Miss Cherrier, chairman; Clarence Yonke, Warren Shawley, Joseph Goldberg, Lyle Belrichard, Peter Valley, Gerald Phillips, Rose Geisler, Margaret Feeney, Jean Antoine, Adeline DeMuth, Irene Schmidt, Thelma Gremore, Nellie Lariviere, Naomi McClure, Margaret Berry, Catherine Dorsey, Pearl White, Rose Sebastian, Fey Allen, Jennie Goldberg, Florence Jacobs, Naida Miller, Margaret Pintz, Myrtle Konichek, Clara Vladika, Gladys Ray, Catherine Emmons, Julia Paris, Adaline Ricks, Anna Tippman, Clara Spiker. (Suits made by Lady Foresters.)

Interlude II—The Coming of the White Men, Roscoe Hayes, chairman; Leighton Tichenor, Carl Schrader, Lyman Howe, Bert Haupt, Gordon Keiser.

Episode III—Tableau, The Discovery of the Mississippi, combined chorus.

Interlude III—The Indian's Vision.

Episode IV—The Establishment of the Cross in America. Indian chief, Kermit Engebretson; Father Marquette, Lawrence Naegle, LaCrosse; Joliet, Milton Stoen, LaCrosse; Frenchmen, Edw. Conway and August Grams, LaCrosse; Indians, Mrs. Simones, soloist; Miss Cora Desmond, LaCrosse; Mrs. M. G. Ryan, Mrs. Walter Schweiger, Mrs. Niles Higgins, Miss Hannah Flannigan, George Howe, soloist, LaCrosse; Bernard Volz, LaCrosse; John Walters, LaCrosse; Joe Borchert, LaCrosse; Dudley Emmert, LaCrosse; Julius Roth, LaCrosse; Frank Hickisch, LaCrosse; John Horrihan, LaCrosse; Julius Kevin, LaCrosse; John Kevin, LaCrosse; Robert Harrier, LaCrosse; William Birnbaum, LaCrosse; Lawrence Lanka, Francis Antoine, Charles Amann, Mark Gallagan, Gregory Corken, John Corken, John Dunne, Jackie Pohlman. Incidents: 1, The Corn Dance; 2, Arrow Dance, Mildred Olson, LaCrosse; 3, Lover's Song, Mrs. Leo Simones, LaCrosse; 4, Scout's Warning, Julius Roth, LaCrosse; 5, Chief's Call; 6, War Song, George Howe, LaCrosse; 7, Meeting of Strangers; 8, Pipe of Peace; 9, Exchange of Blessings; 10, Christianity Shows its Power.

Part II—McGregor Quartet. Symbolic Dance, The Spirit of the Mississippi, Mary Borchert, LaCrosse.

Episode I—Outstanding features in the life of Prairie du Chien. 1, Captain Carver, 1766, Joe Kopan; 2, Trading Post, traders, Joe Dunne, Leo Gallagan, N. Sadler L. Grelle, L. DuCharme; 3, Passing of Fleur de Lis, raising the Union Jack; 4, Unfolding of Stars and Stripes, American Legion, National Guards; 5, Surrender of Red Bird, Robert Harrier, LaCrosse; 6, Black Hawk, 1825, Bernard Volz, LaCrosse; 7, Treaty at Fort Crawford, 1823; 8, Fox Chief "Chien," Joseph Borchert, LaCrosse; Jeff Davis, Edward Grele; Mrs. Jeff Davis,

Rose Wall; 9, Wisconsin enters the Union, Wisconsin, Helen McCloskey; attendants, Fern Noggle, Robert Evans; soloist, Miss MacDonald, West Salem.

Interlude I—Symbolic Dance of Progress, Maud Jarvis, LaCrosse.

Episode II—Pageant procession of: (1) Wisconsin Industries, Traders and Hunters, Fishing, Farmers, Dairymen, Lumbering, Woolen Mills, Ice Cream, Buttons, Tool Co., Electric Light, Telephone, Canning, Cigars, Printing, Concrete Products, Sanitariums, Banking, Clothiers, Shoes, Barbers, Jewelers, Dry Goods, Druggists, Bakers, Garages, Painters, Coal and Storage, Good Roads, Lawrence Grelle, chairman; (2) Grown Interests; Ruth McCloskey, chairman; Josephine Wall. I, Justice, Pearl DuCharme; attendants, Louise Martell, Julia Shaufenbiel; II, Liberty, Margaret Vavruska; attendants, Alice Goodman, Irene Valant; III, Brotherly Love, Marie DuCharme; attendants, Elizabeth Lawless, Eva Price; IV, Protection, G. A. R. Veterans, members of American Legion, Fire Chief Mellinger and members of City Fire Department; page, Weston Day; V, Education, Robert Johnson, Harry McCloskey, Clarence Ziel; VI, Religion, Rose Burrell; attendants, Margaret Garrity, Regina Sletmark, Irene Granzow, Alice Fische; VII, Good Citizenship, Jack Polodna, Pauline Herold, group of citizens; VIII, Preservation of the Forests. Trees: Eleanore Merold; Agnes DeMuth, Gladys Rider, Mary Eleanore Berry, Marilla Campbell, Rose Henry, Oral Goff, Mabel Gaulke, Lela Spiker; flowers, Marie Slama, Lillian Honzel, Leota Pohlman, Albina Bouzek, Mildred Kasperek, Albina Polodna, Bernice Lanke, Blancha Strnad, Helen Kovanda; butterflies, Marie Blazek, Celia Mara, Ellen Long, Josephine Tench, Caroline Zach, Fern Hoppe, Bessie Nicholson, Kathryn Rod; birds, Ella Pellock, Marie Polodna, Marie Korish, Dorothy Lechnir; bumblebees, James Paris, Willard Reed; IX, Red Cross, Ruth Wachter, Lela Wetzel; X, Art, Florence Mulheim; attendant, Leone Yonke; XI, Recreation. Pages, Jane McLenchan, Eleanor Ziel, Dorothy Zil; XII, Faith, Florence Biehl; attendants, Alice McCloskey, Helen Corken, Caroline Bergen; XIII, Hope, Aileen Stabin; attendants, Leone O'Neil, Anna Prybil, Mabel Kearns; XIV, Charity, Christina Vavruska; attendants, Alby Prybil, Retha Seipp, Kathleen McNamara; XV, Camp Fire Girls, Mrs. W. R. Graves, Mrs. Art Steinberg, Miss Mabel Poehler, Mrs. Roy Thomas, Miss Jeanette DuCharme; (3) Nationalities, chairman, Mrs. Griesbach; dancer, J. H. Ready.

Interlude II—Symbolic dance of America, Margaret Gautenbein, Katherine Wolfe, Dorothy Kroner, Mildred Olson, Jane Orton.

Close—Spirit of Wisconsin reviews the trail of Father Marquette in the State of Wisconsin.

A. H. R.

Prairie du Chien.

THE REDISCOVERY OF IOWA

During the eleven days from the seventeenth to the twenty-seventh of June, there occurred one of the most significant episodes in the recent history of Iowa—the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the exploration of the Mississippi River by Louis Joliet and Father Marquette. The central feature of the event was a replica voyage from the mouth of the Wisconsin River to Montrose—a continuous pageant lasting ten days, extending over a stage two hundred and fifty miles long, and witnessed by great numbers of people in audiences sometimes of thousands and again composed of only a few uncomprehending clam muckers. At the end of the trip the visit of the Frenchmen to an Indian village in Iowa two centuries and a half ago was reenacted, and the commemoration of the coming of the first white men was made the occasion for observing other events in the early history of this Commonwealth.

The significance of the celebration, however, lies not so much in the length of the replica voyage, the size of the pageants, or the cost of the whole enterprise as it does in the spontaneity with which the project began and the wide-spread interest it aroused. The whole affair was the work of the "history fans" of Iowa, inspired by Ben Hur Wilson of Mount Pleasant, who sells insurance for a living and studies local history for pleasure. Wherever the proposed celebration was mentioned the community eagerly responded. Before the end of May cities and clubs were vying for a place on the program, so that it became a problem to accommodate all who wished to share in the observance of Iowa's oldest anniversary. For every task there were ready and willing hands. Finances took care of themselves. No individual, city, society, organization, or group dominated the celebration: it was thoroughly democratic—the culmination of a common impulse.

Scarcely less impressive is the unusual interest in Iowa history that the event engendered. To many people who had never heard of Father Marquette or his picturesque companion, Sieur Joliet, those names are now familiar. For some, the "Black-Robe chief, the Prophet" in Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha* has become real and the poem has a new significance, for Father Marquette was that Black-Robe. Busy public officials, matter-of-fact business men, and energetic club women have haunted the libraries to learn of the adventurous Frenchmen who explored the Great Lakes and came into the

Mississippi Valley seeking the Chinese Empire and a way to the sea. Newspapers have printed hundreds of columns concerning Joliet and Marquette and the recent reincarnation of those forgotten times. Far and wide people of every station in life have learned of the discovery of Iowa, have caught a glimpse of the great valley as it was when the white men found it. The story has become common knowledge: the people of Iowa have come into a part of their rich heritage of the past.

The celebration of an event that occurred in Iowa two and a half centuries ago has gone more than anything else to teach the people of this State that Iowa has a past—a past venerable in years and full of romance. The realm of Iowa history is broad and many fertile fields remain as yet uncultivated, their resources undeveloped and their potentiality unknown. There are more lessons to follow.

THE SPIRIT OF IOWA

Iowa has many distinctive characteristics—thrift, contentment, homogeneity, literacy, wealth—but one of the finest of all is Commonwealth consciousness. Perhaps it is the sum of them all. It is founded not upon climate or class or creed, but upon an all-pervading community of interests. Less than a year ago a cynical and superficial critic wrote that no one had yet been able “to rouse this people to a participation in any creative expression of the commonwealth” and concluded, “Seldom has a people been less interested in spiritual self-expression and more concerned with hog nutrition.” To such a libel the recent memorial celebration is the answer. It was the true expression of the spirit of Iowa—a spontaneous, whole-hearted, unselfish response to a worthy enterprise.

In the years to come there will be many occasions for the recognition of important events, noble achievements, and glorious days in the history of this Commonwealth. Let there be similar demonstrations of the spirit of Iowa in the future. Let us maintain respect for our own institutions, let us write and read the story of our own State, let us compose our own music and create our own art, that the democracy of our fathers, the romance of our history, and the character of our prairies may live in the hearts of our people and find expression in the perpetuation of our native traits.

J. E. B.

THE DISCOVERY OF IOWA

On the seventeenth of June, 1923, two men stood on the heights above McGregor, Iowa, and gazed upon the panorama of river and tree-clad islands below, and sweep of Wisconsin farm land in the distance. One wore the long black cassock, the cincture, the crucifix, and the shovel-board hat of a Jesuit missionary of the seventeenth century, while the other was clad in the fringed coat, trousers, and moccasins of a *coureur de bois* of New France. Both were Iowa men—one impersonating the brave but gentle Father Jacques Marquette, the other enacting the rôle of the intrepid and skilled Louis Joliet—who, with boatmen five, newspaper representatives, and cameramen, were that afternoon about to start on a two hundred and fifty mile replica voyage in commemoration of the discovery of Iowa.

Far below them a ferry boat churned its way up the channel toward the pontoon railroad bridge. Horseshoe Island, with its graceful curves and luxuriant foliage, presented a bit of nature's landscape gardening. Across the Mississippi, framed in a setting of green-topped hills and bluffs that merged into soft blue haze in the distance, lay the quaint old French town of Prairie du Chien. Above the trees to the southeast loomed the towers of Campion College. Farther north gleamed the limestone ruins of Old Fort Crawford above which the Stars and Stripes were proudly waving, a reminder of the importance of this frontier post in the days of the fur traders. The spacious buildings and lawns of St. Mary's College were visible on a gently sloping hillside, where amid a riot of color, Wisconsin citizens were celebrating the discovery of the Mississippi with a pageant, "The Father of Waters."

Some four miles below, the gentle current of the Wisconsin River disembogued into the swifter flowing Mississippi almost opposite the bold promontory now called Pike's Hill. It was there, two hundred and fifty years ago, that "we safely entered the Mississippi on the 17th of June, with a joy that I cannot express", wrote Father Marquette. On the seventeenth of June, 1923, the replica *voyageurs* floated out upon the choppy surface of the mighty river, not perhaps with joy but with wonder at the magnificence of the view. The mountainous range of bluffs dominated by Pike's Hill overshadowed the river on the west, while scallops of green-clad hills with layers of outcropping limestone framed the scene on the east, back of the flood plain along the shore.

Turning downstream, the explorers of 1923 beheld new features at every bend of the river. New scenic delights greeted them on every hand, much as the view must have charmed the adventurers of two and a half centuries ago. Islands, willow fringed and crowned with cottonwoods, maples, and elms, appeared; the river widened and the sun dipped in a blaze of color behind the western hills. Then came modern touches of life and action. A lumbering freight train thundered along the base of the cliffs and the engineer whistled a noisy greeting. Clam muckers watched the symbolical voyage pass by, amazement pictured on their faces. Passengers on an upstream packet waved handkerchiefs and shouted salutations. Twilight settled down and yellow gleams atop the light boards along the shore marked the course of the channel. Guttenberg appeared off the starboard bow and two paleface braves in Indian garb put out in a canoe from shore bearing a message of welcome and an invitation to spend the night as guests of the town.

How different must have been the first night passed by the seven Frenchmen along the Iowa shore two hundred and fifty years ago! Then, as the golden sun sank to rest behind the bluffs and twilight fell, they pushed the prows of their two birch-bark canoes ashore. Stretching their cramped limbs they prepared to do their simple cooking. A tiny campfire was built with dry driftwood and in the glowing embers they cooked their frugal meal of Indian corn and smoked meat. Perhaps a fish caught on a towline added a supply of tasty food. Father Marquette invoked a blessing, and they all ate heartily after the day of paddling and the thrill of a great achievement. A short rest, a pipeful of fragrant tobacco, and then the boatmen extinguished the red coals of their dying campfire and again launching their canoes, the party floated a few miles farther on to spend the night. When darkness spread its sable robes over the river they anchored at some distance from the shore, and a boatman watched while the others slept.

At sunrise they were on their way. Once a huge fish struck Marquette's canoe with such violence that the frail craft was nearly overturned. The great sturgeon which "rushed through the water like hungry sharks" excited their admiration and the curious paddle fish aroused their wonder. Herds of deer and buffalo were seen and wild turkeys made a welcome addition to their meager food supply, but no sign of human habitation met their searching gaze. They seemed to be alone on the long sweeps of the broad Mississippi with its changing kaleidoscope of wooded islands and sand bars, its tree-covered

bluffs and open spaces alternating along the banks, and its wide surface, now smooth as glass, now churned to white-capped angry waves by a stiff south wind. Every night, however, they took precautions against a surprise attack. Thus they journeyed along the eastern shore of the Iowa land during that eventful month of June, 1673.

The river then flowed untrammelled to the sea, but the *voyageurs* of 1923 saw on every hand the attempts of man to subdue the spirit of the Mississippi and to control its moods. Wing dams made of woven willows weighted down by limestone rocks directed the current into the channel. Government dredges and snag boats puffed upstream pushing barges piled high with willows. Dingy steamboats nosed along barges heavily loaded with sand and rock repairs for the levees. Red buoys and black buoys slowly bobbing in the water and light boards and diamond boards at intervals along the shore made modern navigation easy.

An excursion boat, gleaming white in the glaring sun, appeared around an island downstream and, with black smoke pouring from the twin stacks, it approached and passed on the port side, following the deepest part of the channel. The high swells made by its large stern paddle wheel tossed the small canoes of the replica explorers like chips. Spray from the plunging bows dashed over the broatmen, drenching their costumes and glistening on the fringed coat of Joliet and the black robe of Marquette.

A herd of cattle standing knee deep in the water far out on a sand bar took the place of the buffalo and deer that were seen by the original explorers. A sail boat manned by a sunburnt, barefoot boy dashed athwart the bow of the accompanying launch and careened at a dangerous angle as he doubled back to watch the flotilla pass. He yelled and waved, and his companion, a fox terrier, barked excitedly. Fishermen in motor dories trailed their lines and waved a salute in passing. Sandy bathing beaches and summer cottages with pleasant names—Woodside, Chalet, Three Elms, and Idlewild—suggested cool retreats from the scorching heat. A cluster of houseboats with drying reels and fish racks marked the approach to a city. Then in the distance appeared the graceful outline of a high-arched traffic bridge and the squat, rugged framework of a railroad bridge—signals for the readjustment of wigs and the refashioning of French beards. A scheduled stop lay just ahead.

No such sights greeted the original *voyageurs*. Not a canoe, not a hut or tepee, not a single sign of human life did they desery for eight days. Finally on the twenty-fifth of June, 1673, as the explor-





MARQUETTE, JOLLIET AND PARTY ON MEMORABLE JOURNEY

(After a painting by Cameron owned by the City of Chicago and displayed in the Finance Committee room. Photo by courtesy of C. W. Kallal, City Architect).

ing party drifted along the Iowa shore, one of the group noticed foot-prints on the sandy beach near the water's edge. Quickly the canoes were beached and the two leaders, unarmed, started out to follow the marks in the sand, leaving their five companions to guard the supplies. It was a bold action for the explorer and the missionary, for neither knew what dangers lurked at the end of the narrow, somewhat beaten path which led up the bank to the prairie.

Silently following the slender trail for about two leagues—five or six miles—they beheld an Indian village on the bank of a river and two others on a hill about a mile from the first. Here the two Frenchmen commended themselves to God, imploring His aid, and then cautiously approached without being noticed until they could hear the Indians talking.

On that quiet day in June the beauty of early summer had settled upon the Mississippi Valley. The streets of the Indian villages were quiet, smoke curled slowly above the lodges, and the murmur of voices drifted through the open doorways. Inside, Indian women pounded corn into meal in heavy bowls while the braves lolled at ease on the blankets or mended bows and smoked long-stemmed pipes. Blinking papooses, brown bundles of stolid indifference or squalling animation, leaned in cradle-boards against the walls.

Suddenly the village was startled into life. A loud shout from the strangers announced their approach. The two messengers from France stopped to watch the effect. In a moment the villagers swarmed out into the sunlight, pipes were tossed aside, broken bows were forgotten, and the women ceased their work to rush about in wild excitement. As quickly as it began the tumult quieted. Someone had recognized the strangers as Frenchmen and friends; someone in the village, doubtless, knew whence the visitors came; someone, perhaps, had seen the energetic fur traders and the black-robed priests on the shore of Lake Superior or beside the waters of Green Bay.

Four old men stepped out of the crowd and advanced toward the strangers. Slowly they walked, two of them holding aloft in the bright sunlight finely ornamented tobacco pipes adorned with multi-colored feathers. Not a word did they speak as with solemn tread they slowly covered the distance between the village and the white men. Finally, as they drew near, they stopped and gazed attentively, yet with respect, at the visitors. Thereupon, Father Marquette, assured that the solemn approach of the four old men was meant as a courteous welcome, asked in Indian dialect, "Who are you?"

"We are Illinois", the old men answered, and as a token of peace they offered the strangers the calumets to smoke, and invited them to enter the village.

Together the four Indians and their guests approached the cluster of lodges where the Indians awaited them impatiently. At the door of one of the huts stood an old man, with his hands extended toward the sun. As the group drew near the old man spoke, "How beautiful is the sun, O Frenchmen, when thou comest to visit us! All our village awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace."

Then he bade them enter his lodge where a crowd of savages looked upon the visitors in curious yet respectful silence. From time to time in a low voice came the words, "How good it is, my brothers, that you should visit us." Again the pipe of peace was passed, first to the strangers and then to the elders. During this ceremony of friendship a messenger arrived bearing an invitation from the great chief of all the Illinois to proceed to his village for a council.

Thither they set out, the black-gown and the explorer and the elders accompanied by a great crowd of Indian braves, squaws, and children. The unusual sight of two Frenchmen in their village attracted all of the Indians. Some lay in the grass along the path and watched the procession pass, others ran on ahead and then retracted their steps in order to see the strangers again. Yet all this was done noiselessly and with great awe of the white men.

When the procession reached the village of the big chief he was beheld standing at the entrance of his lodge between two old men. All three stood erect and naked, holding their calumets high toward the glowing sun. The chief welcomed the party and drew them within his cabin. Again they smoked the calumet in silence, and the Indians awaited the message of the white men. Father Marquette spoke first and, following the custom with the Indians, gave them four presents, each the token of a message.

With the first he told them that he, Jacques Marquette, a priest of the Jesuit Order, and his companion, Louis Joliet, were journeying peacefully to visit the tribes dwelling on the river as far as the sea. With the second token he announced that God, who had created them, had pity on them and, wishing to make Himself known to all people, had sent the priest for that purpose. Then he gave them a third present saying that the great chief of the French had subdued the Iroquois and had restored peace everywhere. Finally, with the fourth gift, he begged the Illinois to give him and his companion all the in-

formation they had about the sea and the nations through whose land they must pass to reach it.

When the black-gown finished speaking the chief arose, and resting his hand upon the head of a little Indian boy, a captive slave, he spake thus, "I thank thee, Black-gown, and thee, O Frenchman, for having taken so much trouble to come to visit us. Never has the earth been so beautiful or the sun so bright as today. Never has our river been so calm or so free from rocks, which thy canoes have removed in passing. Never has our tobacco tasted so good or our corn appeared so fine as we now see it. Here is my son whom I give thee to show thee my heart. I beg thee to have pity on me, and on all my nation. It is thou who knowest the great Spirit who has made us all. It is thou who speakest to Him, and who hearest His word. Beg Him to give me life and health, and to come to dwell with us, in order to make us know Him."

Then the chief placed the captive Indian boy near the visitors and gave them a second present, a long-stemmed calumet, elaborately carved and decorated with feathers signifying peace. It was to be a talisman for the rest of the journey. With a third present he begged the visitors on behalf of his nation to go no farther on account of the dangers that lay ahead. Marquette replied that he feared not death and regarded no happiness greater than that of losing his life for the glory of Him who had made them all. This sentiment amazed all the Indians, but they made no reply and the council ended.

A feast followed. During the progress of the council Indian women had hurried to prepare a meal worthy of the occasion. Young girls now brought into the lodge the food which the squaws had made ready. The first course was sagamité—Indian corn meal boiled in water and seasoned with fat. An Indian, acting as master of ceremonies, filled a spoon and presented it several times to the mouths of the visitors as if they were children. Then the maidens brought fresh from the fire a second platter on which lay three smoking fish. The same Indian took some pieces of this, removed the bones and, after blowing upon the morsels to cool them, placed the fish in the mouths of the Frenchmen as he had fed them the sagamité. For the third course they brought a large dog freshly killed and roasted for the occasion, but when they learned that their guests did not eat that delicacy, it was removed. The fourth course was roast buffalo meat, the fattest and choicest morsels of which were given the priest and his companion.

When the feast ended the hosts conducted the Frenchmen through the entire village consisting of fully three hundred lodges. During this tour an orator harangued the people to see the visitors without annoying them. Everywhere the natives presented their new friends with gifts—belts, garters, and bracelets made of hair dyed red, yellow, and gray. When nightfall came the explorers slept in the cabin of the chief as his honored guests.

On the afternoon of the next day Marquette and Joliet took leave of the chief promising to pass his village again within four moons. They retraced their steps along the trail to the Mississippi, courteously accompanied by nearly six hundred Indians. On the Iowa bank of the Father of Waters the Indians watched the white men settle themselves in their canoes, taking with them the Indian slave boy who was destined to share their adventures in the Great Valley. The sun was midway down the sky when they shoved off from the shore and slowly paddled downstream amid the shouts of the Indians in manifestation of their joy at the visit of the gallant strangers.

Thus ended the first visit of white men to Iowa. Two hundred and fifty years later the replica *voyageurs* encountered much the same hospitality, friendliness, and kindly interest that the original travelers met when they visited the Illinois Indians. Hundreds of Iowans at McGregor, Guttenberg, Dubuque, Bellevue, Clinton, Davenport, Muscatine, Burlington, Fort Madison, and Montrose met the explorers of 1923 at the water front, looked at them in friendly curiosity, and then adopted them as honored guests. They harangued the travellers and the *voyageurs* responded. Redmen in full ragalia added color to the welcome at the landings. The trip became a continuous pageant in commemoration of an important episode in Iowa history. Each city feasted the party, gave them presents, and showed them places of interest. The modern explorers were taken to the Abbey of New Melleray where Trappist monks practice the rules of an order founded almost six hundred years before the discovery of Iowa; they visited the quaint village of Tête des Mort, a bit of rural Europe in an Iowa valley; they inspected the United States Arsenal at Rock Island; and they went through the government Biological Station at Fairport.

Finally, at the beautiful Crapo Park of Burlington, in a natural amphitheater overlooking the river, with green trees for a background and a vista of wooded islands and rolling prairies in the distance, was reënacted the welcome of Marquette and Joliet by the Illinois Indians. Jesuit priest and French explorer, Indian braves, chiefs, old men, squaws, and children, appearing before an audience of thousands of

people, caught and reflected the spirit of the first visit of white men to Iowa. Then followed an eloquent address by a priest of the same missionary order to which Father Marquette belonged. Appropriate ceremonies at Bluff Park, Montrose, culminated the ten day celebration in honor of the discovery of Iowa and the first visit of white men to her borders.

As the sun was midway down the sky the replica *voyageurs* set out for home in a launch, towing the two canoes. Darkness overtook them, and in the north jagged flashes of lightning silhouetted the bluffs and trees on the shoreline. The heavy rumble of thunder echoed down the valley. A train rushed past, the glare of the headlight piercing the darkness and the flare from the opened fire box revealing the fireman. Then the rain! Curtains hastily lowered protected the travellers who had endured ten days of stifling heat on the river without a suggestion of a storm. At last the docks loomed ahead out of the darkness and the launch slid into its quarters. The *voyageurs* of 1923 had rediscovered the Father of Waters and the friendliness of the people who today inhabit the Iowa country.

BRUCE E. MAHAN.

FATHER MARQUETTE

Humanity is relentless in its quick forgetfulness of the dead, but more than two centuries have not dimmed the achievements of Father Jacques Marquette, nor obliterated the memory of the fine idealism of his life. Much of the wilderness in which he lived and worked has become peopled, the little mission of St. Ignace which he built has long since fallen to ruins, but Marquette's spirit is still felt by the hundreds of summer tourists who visit the monument at St. Ignace, Michigan, which marks the site of his former chapel.

Jacque Marquette grew to manhood in the shadow of dominant personalities and past glories of France. Born in Laon in 1637, he came of a family which cherished the memory of a long line of valiant warriors and distinguished statesmen. As a child he played among the crumbling ruins of walls and ramparts which had withstood the attacks of many foes of France; a dozen times a day he gazed upon the imposing cathedral built by the Church of Rome in the twelfth century; and his walks frequently led him among the ruins of an ancient leaning tower, built like that of Pisa.

The influence of the boy's mother, Rose de la Salle, together with a natural tendency toward a life of piety, soon made him determined to abandon the traditions of his ancient house which marked its sons for statesmen and warriors, and to enter the service of the Cross. Shortly after he was seventeen, he went to the neighboring town of Nancy and entered the Jesuit college as a novice.

Beginning in 1632, the Jesuits had gradually penetrated far into the forests of North America and were attempting to spread Christianity among the Indians of lower Canada. During his long and tedious months of study in France, Marquette had, no doubt, read accounts of these Jesuit activities and pictured himself as a savior of the savages in this strange, far country. Whatever his hopes may have been, he burned with an intense desire to try his fortunes as a forest missionary in America.

For twelve years his ambition remained ungratified, but he did not lose his ardor. At last, in 1666, when he was twenty-nine years of age, the long-wished-for orders arrived and Marquette quickly embarked for the missionary field of New France. He reached Quebec in September of the same year and it was there, while he was gaining his first impressions of the New World, that he met Louis

Joliet, with whom he was afterward to share one of the greatest adventures of his life.

After a rest of twenty days, Marquette was sent to Three Rivers, seventy-seven miles above Quebec, to become a pupil of Father Gabriel Drüillettes in the many-sided art of the Indian missionary. In marked contrast to the theological seminaries of Old France, Three Rivers was a rude school in which the young priest learned to endure the hardships of toilsome journeys, to face the horrors of famine, pestilence, and war, and to speak the strange language of the Indians. But Marquette's natural ability, coupled with his great zeal, seems to have overcome all obstacles.

Daily association for two years with the greasy savages of Three Rivers, constant observation of their manners and customs, and the mastery of six dialects was deemed to be sufficient apprenticeship, and Marquette was sent to the Ottawa mission at Sault Ste. Marie in the summer of 1668. There he was associated with "twenty or thirty Nations, all different in language, customs, and Policy." After his first winter's work, he wrote that the harvest of souls "is very abundant, and that it only rests with the Missionaries to baptize the entire population." He was skeptical of the sincerity of the Indian converts, however, fearing that they were "too acquiescent" and that after baptism they would still "cling to their customary superstitions." He gave especial attention to baptizing the dying, "who are a surer harvest."

Marquette remained only a year at the Sault and then he was sent on to the farthest corner of Lake Superior to take charge of the mission at La Pointe. Built on a narrow spit of sand and gravel some six miles long, the mission was surrounded by a wild and picturesque landscape of steep cliffs of sandstone and dark pine forests. Marquette assumed his duties with a quaking heart for it was a hazardous undertaking, but it was exactly the opportunity for which he had been longing. He went at once to visit the neighboring Indians, and found them to be of the Huron nation and practically all baptized. Some of the other tribes, however, were found to be "very far from the Kingdom of God."

It was during his service at La Pointe that Marquette first heard of the great river which flowed so far southward that the nations about the Great Lakes had never heard of its mouth. He also learned of the Illinois Indians—a strange tribe of savages who raised maize and enormous squashes, and who did not know what a canoe was. Then and there Marquette conceived the ambition to explore the Mis-

Mississippi and to carry the Gospel to the benighted Illinois who worshipped the sun and the thunder.

In the spring of 1671 the Hurons near La Pointe were threatened with an attack by the warlike Sioux, and fled to Mackinac Island. Marquette abandoned the mission and went with them. There, at the junction of lakes Huron, Superior, and Michigan—the gateway to the land of the Illinois in the great valley—the shrewd Jesuit took his post and bided the time when he could fulfill his desire.

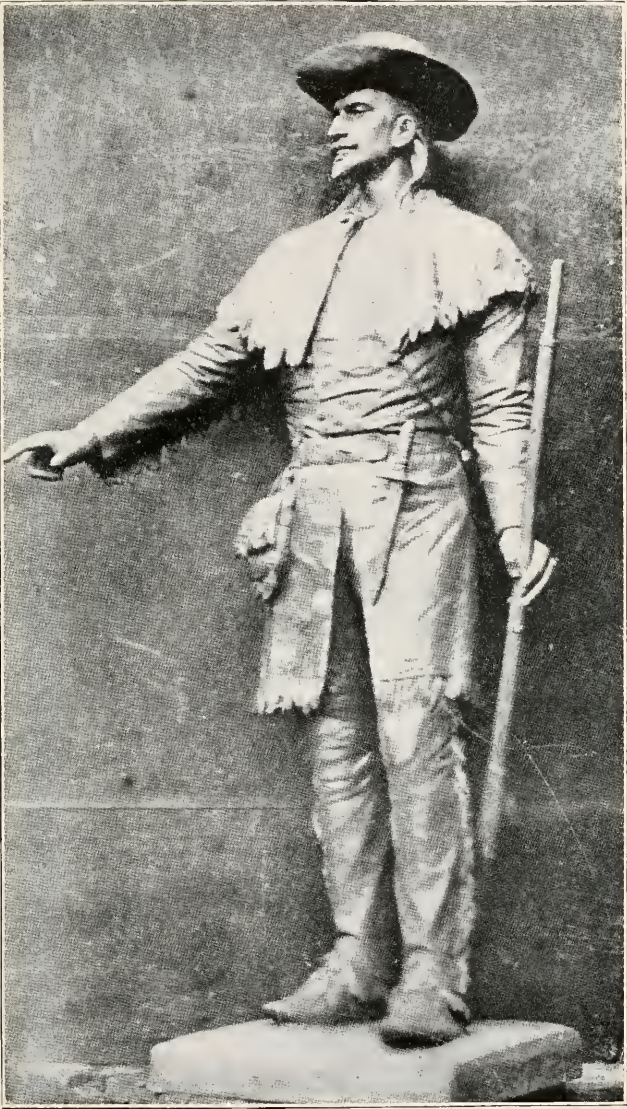
Meanwhile he was kept very busy, ministering to the religious needs of the Indians, baptizing the infants, and making excursions into the surrounding country by canoe and on foot. Near the edge of the island he established the little mission of St. Ignace, which was later transferred to the mainland. Its site is today marked by an imposing monument, a shrine for hundreds of tourists.

Scarcely more than a year had elapsed before Marquette's dreams came true. It was in December, 1672, when his friend Joliet arrived from Quebec with orders for him to join in exploring the Mississippi River and to spread the faith among the natives of that country. It was a momentous occasion in the little settlement, and during the winter months Marquette and Joliet were busy collecting information about the great western country, drawing maps, and preparing for the long journey in the spring.

On the seventeenth of May, 1673, the two Frenchmen, together with five boatmen, set out in two small birch-bark canoes. By way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, they reached the Mississippi just a month from the time they started, and eight days later paid their first visit to the people who then lived in Iowa.

After two days of feasting with the Illinois Indians, the party proceeded on down the river. Various thrilling adventures convinced the explorers that they were in a strange land indeed. They had not gone far when they saw, painted high upon the smooth surface of a cliff, two hideous monsters, the work of some imaginative Indian artist. "They are as large As a calf", writes Father Marquette. "They have Horns on their heads Like those of deer, a horrible look, red eyes, a beard Like a tiger's, a face somewhat like a man's, a body Covered with scales, and so Long A tail that it winds all around the Body, passing the head and going back between the legs, ending in a Fish's tail."

While still discussing these pictured rocks they heard the rush of a rapids and in a few moments they were in the muddy and turbulent waters of the Missouri River. "An accumulation of large and



LOUIS JOLLIET, EXPLORER, CO-LABORER OF MARQUETTE

(Photo by courtesy of the State Historical Society of Iowa).

entire trees, branches, and floating islands, was issuing from the mouth of the river, with such impetuosity", says Marquette, that they could not pass through without great danger.

Going farther to the south, the explorers encountered great swarms of mosquitoes near the broad mouth of the Ohio. The heat and the insects made life miserable until the men hoisted canvas tents over their canoes, after the manner of the southern Indians.

A few days later, as the *voyageurs* approached a village of Mitchigeamea Indians, they saw the savages preparing for battle. "They were armed with bows, arrows, hatchets, clubs, and shields", relates Father Marquette. "They prepared to attack us, on both land and water; part of them embarked in great wooden canoes—some to ascend, others to descend the river, in order to Intercept us and surround us on all sides. Those who were on land came and went, as if to commence The attack. In fact, some Young men threw themselves into The water, to come and seize my Canoe; but the current compelled Them to return to land. One of them then hurled his club, which passed over without striking us. In vain I showed The calumet, and made them signs that we were not coming to war against them. The alarm continued, and they were already preparing to pierce us with arrows from all sides, when God suddenly touched the hearts of the old men, who were standing at the water's edge."

The elders succeeded in checking the ardor of the young braves and invited the Frenchmen to their village. The Indians could not understand Marquette's Algonquin dialects, but they told him that another tribe farther down the river near the mouth of the Arkansas could give what information they desired.

The Arkansas Indians received the explorers with unmistakable demonstrations of friendship. The white men were feasted until nightfall, while the Indians told of the dangers of the river below, of the fierce tribes that inhabited the country, and of the murderous Spaniards not far away. Pondering upon these warnings, convinced that they were within three days' journey of the sea, and anxious to report their discoveries, Marquette and Joliet decided to turn their canoes northward.

The trip home was begun on July seventeenth. Paddling against the stream was far different from floating with it, the boatmen soon discovered. They were forced to thread their way back and forth across the river to avoid the swiftest currents. As if to multiply their woes, the heat became almost unbearable and the mosquitoes were a constant irritation. Camping in the damp night air, without fire to

avoid attack, and sleeping in cramped positions in the canoes were unhealthy practices which would harm the health of any man, and Marquette, being naturally of a delicate physique, began show signs of collapse.

At last they reached the Illinois River, where friendly Indians told them of a shorter way to Lake Michigan than the route by which they had come. In the course of their journey up the Illinois, they came one day to a village in whose lodges lived the same Indians they had visited in Iowa. The tired *voyageurs* were welcomed with such hospitality that they remained three days in the village. Marquette told the Indians of the God who had protected him on his long voyage, and before he departed he promised to return some day and establish a mission among them.

Reaching Lake Michigan, probably by way of the Chicago River, the weary explorers pushed their sadly worn canoes on toward the Jesuit mission of St. Francois Xavier at De Pere, where Marquette had been assigned for service. There he arrived at the end of September, ill and exhausted, just four months after he had started on his journey.

During the long and tedious winter which followed, Marquette's mind was busy making plans to return to the Illinois tribes and establish a mission near Kaskaskia. In the early autumn he believed himself well enough to accomplish this task and he started from De Pere in October, 1674. Two French servants accompanied him.

Along the shore of Lake Michigan the travellers encountered cold and stormy weather. Constant exposure to wind, rain, and cold so weakened Father Marquette that, upon reaching the Chicago River in December, the two boatmen were forced to build a rude hut and, amidst the great silences of the wilderness, the three men spent the winter. The black-gown struggled through the strain of the cold season and in March the three men pursued their journey toward Kaskaskia.

Marquette's health failed rapidly but they reached the Indian village on the eighth of April where Marquette "was received as an angel from Heaven." A tabernacle of saplings covered with reed mats and bearskins was built close to the village and in it were hung "several pieces of chinese taffeta, attached to these four large Pictures of the blessed Virgin, which were visible on all Sides." There the priest spoke eloquently to more than a thousand braves who listened "with universal Joy," and prayed that he might return to them again as soon as his health would permit.

Marquette's illness grew steadily worse and, realizing that death was not far distant, he started north with the hope of reaching the mission of St. Ignace before he died. His two faithful servants, taking advantage of the northward current, pushed the little canoe along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, but April and early May were cold and stormy, and the two boatmen despaired of being able to reach their destination in time. Marquette, preparing to die, reclined upon the reed mats in the bottom of the boat.

At last, perceiving a high eminence which he deemed well-suited for his burial, Marquette directed his servants to stop, for he had selected that spot as the place of his last repose. It was early in the day and the boatmen wished to go farther, but "God raised a Contrary wind", and they were compelled to turn back to the place which Marquette had pointed out. There they built a little fire, made a wretched cabin of bark, and the dying missionary was laid beneath the humble roof. While the men were tearfully engaged in making camp, Marquette spent his last hours in prayer, and on the eighteenth of May, 1675, "with a countenance beaming and all aglow, he expired so gently that it might have been regarded as a pleasant sleep."

The two servants buried their master as he had directed, and placed a large cross to mark his grave. In the spring, some Kiskakons carried his body to St. Ignace and lowered it into a small vault in the middle of the church. The little mission was burned in 1700 and for more than one hundred and seventy-five years his resting place was unknown. In 1877, Father Edward Jacker discovered the grave and Marquette's remains now rest in the church of St. Ignace and at Marquette University in Milwaukee.

Marquette was never a man of great strength; he was unfitted for the rough life of the wilderness. His gentle manner and frail physique, however, concealed a will of iron. Earnest, kind, and sincere, the model of his whole life was Saint François Xavier, probably the greatest of all Jesuit missionaries, who extended the faith through fifty-two kingdoms in Asia. In many respects, the incidents of Marquette's life ran parallel to those of his great predecessor. When death overtook him, alone in the wilderness, he spent his last few hours giving thanks to God that he could die "as he had always prayed, in a Wretched cabin in the midst of the forests and bereft of all human succor", exactly as Saint François Xavier did many centuries before him on the other side of the world.

RUTH B. MIDDAGH.

LOUIS JOLIET

The story begins on Thursday the twenty-first of September in the year 1645. It was on that day that Jean Joliet, a poor wagon-maker in the service of the great fur-trading company of the Hundred Associates which then controlled Canada, might have been seen by some of the inhabitants of Quebec as he and his wife, Marie, climbed slowly up the heights with their infant son and made their way to the church of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Mary. There, in the presence of parents and godparents, the curé baptized and christened the child Louis. Afterward the little family returned to their humble home in the old Lower Town at the foot of the towering rock of Quebec beside the mighty St. Lawrence.

During the years that followed, while the little French trading post with its two or three hundred colonists, adventurers, priests, and nuns was just beginning to assume the dignity becoming to the capital of New France, the sturdy youngster outgrew his infancy and thrived in the midst of hardship and privation after the manner of the hardy race from which he sprang. The winters were long and cold, and the summers were filled with dread of the Indians. Yet the cheerful French folk faced impending calamity with a laugh or a *bon mot* and society in the Upper Town, where the *seigneurs* brought their families to spend the winter months, reproduced the gaiety of the salons of Old France.

Louis Joliet developed into an alert and active boy. Before he was old enough to remember distinctly his father died. He attended the Jesuit school with the other children of Quebec, most of whom lived in the Lower Town near the landing. Proximity to the St. Lawrence no doubt inspired the boy with a fancy for voyages, while the arrival and departure of missionaries, traders, and Indians gave rise to dreams of adventure and manly ambition. One of the youthful amusements was to play in the brook that came down from Cape Diamond in a succession of little cascades. Often, as a boy, Louis Joliet may have climbed the steep and narrow ascent from Wolfe's Cove to the Plains of Abraham, just as a century later the British stealthily gained the same impregnable heights and wrested an empire from the French.

Joliet seems to have been none the less a student for all of his boyish activities. In the Department of Marine in Paris there is a remarkable map of the island of Anticosti and the Gulf of St. Law-

rence, drawn by him when he was only thirteen. The work is carefully executed and the notes and legends indicate maturity and accurate observation. In 1662 he decided to become a Jesuit priest and took his minor orders in August of that year. He cultivated his talent for music and continued his classical course by a study of philosophy. Four years later he is mentioned with special honor for his participation in a public debate in philosophy, at which the dignitaries of the colony were present and in which the Intendant, Talon himself, took part. The arguments were made in Latin and the disputants were confined to the syllogistic method.

During the following year Joliet, who had then reached his majority, was "clerk of the church" in the seminary. Father Jacques Marquette came to Quebec in September, 1666, and during the three weeks he tarried before going on to Three Rivers the two young men must have become well acquainted. Joliet, however, gave up his training for the priesthood about the time that Marquette entered upon his chosen field as a forest missionary, and in the summer of 1667, probably at the instigation of Talon and for the purpose of pursuing special studies in the Old World, he sailed for France.

After a happy year in the land of his fathers, Joliet returned to Quebec and began his career as explorer. Only the most resourceful, intrepid, and sturdy young men ventured upon that arduous calling. The successful *coureur de bois* had to know the craft of the wilderness—how to find his way in the depths of the forest; how to fashion shelter huts, weapons, and canoes; how to survive alone far from the base of supplies. He had to live with the Indians, interpret their moods, and speak their dialects. Above all, he had to be tactful, brave, and alert.

Commissioned by the Governor of New France to accompany Jean Péré on an expedition in search of fabulous boulders of pure copper on the shores of Lake Superior, Joliet plunged into the wilderness early in the spring of 1669 and was not heard of again until the following autumn. One day in September the Sieur de La Salle with his party of explorers and Sulpitian missionaries in search of a new route to the South Sea were amazed to hear of another Frenchman in a neighboring Indian village near the western end of Lake Ontario. It was Joliet on his way back to Quebec. He had failed to find the copper mines, but he had obtained precious knowledge of the region of the Great Lakes, had visited Green Bay, had won the friendship of the Indians, had made peace between the Iroquois and the Ottawas, and had discovered a new and less difficult route to the West by way

of the Grand River and Lake Erie. For these services he was paid four hundred livres—not quite eighty dollars.

Late in the following year Joliet returned to the Great Lakes as a member of Saint-Lusson's pretentious expedition, and the early summer of 1671 found him at Sault Ste. Marie where a great concourse of Indians, priests, and soldiers had assembled to witness an imposing ceremony. There, on the fourteenth of June, he stood with a little group of Europeans surrounded by hundreds of dusky savages, their eyes wide with wonder, while Father Claude Dablon invoked a blessing upon the huge wooden cross erected as a token of spiritual dominion. Saint-Lusson, lifting a sod and holding forth his sword, in the name of His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XIV of France, then took formal possession of all the territory from Hudson Bay to the South Sea and westward to the ocean—a realm of which none of them knew the extent. "*Vive le Roi!*" shouted the Frenchmen, and the Indians howled in concert.

One of the most alluring mysteries of the continent still remained unsolved. What was the "great water" to the west of which the Indians had told the explorers and missionaries, and whither did it flow? When Talon received instructions in 1672 to direct his attention to the exploration of the Mississippi as the most important that could be undertaken in behalf of New France, his choice of a person to entrust with such a mission naturally fell to Louis Joliet, the brilliant young scholar whom he had sent to Europe six years before and who had since distinguished himself as a zealous and trustworthy explorer.

By November, after Talon had been recalled to France and Joliet was far on his way, the new Governor, Frontenac, wrote to the prime minister that he had "deemed it expedient for the service to send Sieur Joliet to discover the south sea by way of the country of the Maskoutens and the great river called Mississippi, which is believed to empty into the California sea. He is a man of experience in this kind of discovery and has already been near the great river, of which he promises to see the mouth." To his friend, Father Marquette, who was patiently waiting at the mission of St. Ignace for an opportunity to visit the Indians who lived along the great river, Joliet carried instructions to accompany him on the voyage.

Slowly and apparently alone, Sieur Joliet paddled his birch-bark canoe up the turbulent Ottawa and Mattawan, laboriously he traversed the portage to Lake Nipissing, and finally emerging from its forested islands, gay with autumnal foliage, he rapidly descended the French River and floated out into the isle-strewn expanse of Georgian Bay.

Weeks must have passed while he threaded that gloomy archipelago, genial October was succeeded by chill November, each morning when the traveller awakened beneath his shelter of boughs he found the damp mosses crisp under foot, while fitful winds laden with snowflakes whistled mournfully in the tree tops. To reach Mackinac before the ice blocked his passage the bold explorer must have taken many risks, for it was the eighth of December and floes were already forming in the straits when he beached his canoe at Point St. Ignace, embraced his priestly friend, and placed within his eager hands the fateful message which was to link their names upon a page of history.

All through the long winter Joliet and Marquette made careful preparations for their momentous exploration. On the seventeenth of May, 1673, the little party set out, and it was late in the autumn before Joliet, weary and travel-worn, pulled his canoe onto the beach at St. Ignace. Cold weather was at hand, so he spent the winter at the Mackinac settlement, writing his report to the Governor, drafting a map of the Illinois country, and preparing his journal of the voyage.

When spring came and the ice went out of the strait, he embarked upon the long trip back to Quebec. Week after week Joliet and his companions paddled homeward. At last they approached the town of Montreal and entered the troubled waters of La Chine Rapids—the last ordeal of the perilous journey. Many a time Joliet had passed those foam-covered rocks before, but the fates that day were capricious and overturned the light canoe. The men were thrown into the swift current and the box containing Joliet's precious map and his journal was deposited at the bottom of the river. Frantically, Joliet struggled against the tugging whirlpools until his strength was gone and he lost consciousness. Four hours his body tossed in the water when at last some fishermen pulled him out and brought him back to life. His French companions and the Indian lad, gift of the Indians in Iowa, were drowned.

The news of Joliet's discovery and the accident in the rapids preceded him to Quebec. When he finally entered his native town the church bells were rung and he was enthusiastically welcomed. After embracing his mother and visiting a little with friends and relatives he hastened to make a verbal report to Governor Frontenac. Later he wrote a brief account of his voyage, the country he had explored, and the ease of establishing communication between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. Accompanying this letter was a map of the region drawn from memory.

For several years the young explorer was haunted with the memory of the beautiful prairies, the luxuriant vegetation, the abundance of game, and the innumerable herds of bison which he had seen in the fertile valley of the great river. In 1676, the year following his marriage, he proposed to establish an agricultural colony in Illinois, believing that was the best method of maintaining the French claim to that region, but Paris officialdom vetoed it. Thereafter, for a time, he seems to have fallen into disfavor, perhaps because he was outspoken in opposition to the policy of supplying the Indians with liquor.

So ended the period of greatest accomplishment in the life of Louis Joliet, though for a quarter of a century longer he continued to occupy an important place in Canadian history. A man of scholarship and versatility (he played the cathedral organ between voyages), his whole career is one of remarkable achievement. In the Jesuit and official records of that time he is always referred to as a man of discretion, bravery, and unusual ability who might be trusted to do difficult work.

In 1679 Sieur Joliet was granted the *seigneurie* of the Mingan Islands, and later in the same year he made a survey of the region between the Saguenay River and James Bay, where he found the British firmly established. In return for his services he was given the island of Anticosti in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. There he went to live with his family and was growing wealthy when Sir William Phips appeared with his British fleet in 1690 and destroyed his establishment. A few years later he explored the coast of Labrador, made numerous maps, and studied the Eskimos and the resources of that country. In 1695 he went to France where he was received with honor and respect. When he returned to Quebec he was appointed royal professor of navigation and was given another *seigneurie* which bore his own name and which his descendants possess to this day.

Louis Joliet died sometime in the summer of 1700—nobody knows just when or where or how. It is probable that the illustrious explorer met his end some place in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, where so often he had guided his boat on adventurous voyages. Perhaps his body rests on one of those rugged islands which the fogs envelop with a white shroud and whose shores reverberate incessantly with the cry of gulls and the thunder of billows.

Although all of Joliet's papers, maps and charts concerning the Illinois were lost just at the conclusion of the journey, there are some letters extant, the most extended of which reads as follows:

"To the Count de Frontenac, Counselor to the King in his Counsils, Governor and Lieutenant General of his Majesty, and in the countries of New France. My Lord:

"It is with the greatest pleasure that I have the happiness today to present you with this map which gives the position of the lakes which one has to cross to reach Canada or North America, which extends over 1,200 leagues from east to west. This great river, on the other side of the lakes, Huron and Illinois, which bears the name Buade river, having been discovered there last years 1673 and 1674, by your first command which you gave me, enters into your government of New France, passes between Florida and New Mexico and discharges into the sea. It traverses the most beautiful country imaginable—I have never seen anything prettier in France than the large prairies, which I admire, nothing more agreeable than the diversity of the woods and the forests where one may pick prunes, apples, grenades, lemons and berries and still smaller fruits which are not to be found in Europe.

"In the fields one sees quails, in the woods parrots, in the rivers fishes, unknown to us as to taste and size.

"Iron mines, and bloodstones which are only to be found with red copper, and they are not rare either, nor slate, salt petre, coal, marble and copper ore, pieces as large as a fist and almost pure; it was found close to the bloodstones which are superior to those in France and quite abundant.

"Every savage has his canoc of wood, 50 feet long and for his provisions they do not care for deer, they kill the buffalo, which travels in herds from 30 to 40. I have seen herds of more than 400 along the river and turkeys are so common, that no one pays any attention to them.

"Indian corn is gathered by them three times a year and all the savages have water melon to refresh themselves during the great heat which does not permit any ice or snow.

"By one of these large rivers which come from the west, and enter the Buade one can enter into the ruby sea. I have seen a village which was only five journeys distant of a nation which does business with those in California. Had I come two days sooner I would have had a chance to speak to them, who came from there and brought four hatchets with them for presents.

"You would have found a complete description of it in my journal, if my good fortune, which was always with me, did not fail me, in the last quarter of an hour, to reach the place where I started from. I would have escaped the dangers of the savages; I passed 42 rapids; I was upon the point to disembark with all the pleasure one enjoys of a successful but long and difficult travel, when my canoe capsized. I lost two packages and my strong box at the sight, and at the gate of the first French houses which I left nearly two years ago.

"I have nothing left but my life and the good will which you may use, as it shall please you.

"My Lord,

"Your most humble and most obedient servant and subject,

"JOLLIET."

JOHN ELY BRIGGS.

POINTING THE WAY

Toward the Mississippi Valley the tide of world empire has been setting for three quarters of a century and is not even yet at its height. The financier may turn his eyes toward Wall Street or Threadneedle Street, the student may plan his pilgrimage to Cambridge or Leipzig, the artist may long for the inspiration afforded by the Louvre or the galleries of Florence, but the teeming millions of the overcrowded places of the world, with hands restless to do and hearts ready to dare, turn eager faces toward this great central basin of North America. In the center of this vast tract, midway between the mountain barriers to the east and to the west, midway between the tropic sea to the south and the frozen sea to the north, stands Iowa. And the way thither—will it interest you for a few moments?

Singularly enough the history of the Mississippi Valley began with Jacques Cartier's voyage up the St. Lawrence in 1534. Fishing fleets began to frequent the waters about Newfoundland, occasionally ascending the river for the winter and carrying on a profitable fur trade with the Indians. It soon became evident that this trade was well worth developing, and furs came to be sought by the French in the north as eagerly if not as rapaciously as was gold by the Spaniards in the south. Champlain came up the river, bringing colonists who founded Quebec in 1608, the same year that the English founded Jamestown.

Whence came this supply of furs? And whence came this great river, mightier ten-fold than any of the rivers of Europe? The first of these problems appealed to Champlain's superiors, the latter to Champlain himself. He took but little interest in his colony except as it served him as a base for his explorations. He heard of a great sea to the west and would reach it and find thereby the way to Far Gathay. The St. Lawrence itself was blocked by the Iroquois Indians of northern New York, whose hostility to the French, and particularly to Champlain, was fierce and unrelenting. So he pushed his canoes up the Ottawa until its waters enmeshed with those of a lake called Nipissing. From this lake he followed a river, now known as French River, down to the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron. The Great Lakes lay before him, but it was not his to explore them. Indeed he had been preceded thus far by Franciscan

missionaries who were already established among the Huron Indians at the head of this same bay.

Then followed two decades of confusion and reorganization of the French colonies. The great Richelieu next assumed their management and, through Champlain was reappointed Governor, commerce and trade were monopolized by a company known as the Hundred Associates while the Jesuits were virtually in charge of all other interests, temporal as well as spiritual.

In July of 1634 it was that the Jesuit missionaries Brébeuf, Daniel, and Davost embarked with the Indian canoe fleet on its annual return journey from Three Rivers to the Huron country. Jean Nicollet was one of this motley company, but the situation was far less novel to him than to his black-robed fellow countrymen. Brébeuf speaks admiringly of him as being "equal to all the hardships endured by the most robust savages." The tiresome ascent of the Ottawa was finally accomplished and the canoes glided out upon the waters of Lake Nipissing; thence down French River to Georgian Bay and on to its head, where the Jesuits established themselves in the place formerly occupied by the Franciscans.

They were soon joined by Nicollet, who had tarried for a time with the Indians on an island in the Ottawa. After procuring a suitable outfit and engaging seven Hurons to act as guides, Nicollet bade adieu to Father Brébeuf and his associates and set out on his voyage westward. His commission required him to explore such countries as he might be able to reach and to make commercial treaties with the people dwelling therein. The party coasted along the eastern and northern shores of Lake Huron, passing through the dangerous channel to the north of the Manitoulins until they found themselves tossing about in the eddies below the Sault Ste. Marie in water through which now floats a commerce whose tonnage is three times that which passes Port Said and Suez.

But for Nicollet the scene seems to have had no special interest. He must have heard from the Indians of Lake Superior, but makes no mention of having visited it. The water coursing past his camp at the foot of the rapids was fresh and gave no promise that the "salt sea" of which he was in search lay beyond. Thus did he miss discovering the greatest of all the Great Lakes.

Dropping down St. Mary's Strait he rounded the upper peninsula of Michigan and passed on through the Straits of Mackinac. The "second lake of the Hurons," as Lake Michigan was for a time called, lay before him. Boldly following the northern shore of this new-found

sea Nicollet entered Green Bay, land-locked by the present State of Wisconsin. He pushed on to its head, where he for the first time encountered tribes of Indians with whom he could not converse. He believed himself upon the outskirts of the vast Chinese Empire. Being invited to a council with the chiefs he donned the gorgeous mandarin's cloak, which he had brought in an oilskin bag to wear at his appearance before the Chinese court, and approaching, discharged his pistols into the air. The impression was all that could be desired, but he soon discovered that he had not yet reached China nor even its outskirts. He was well received, however, and passed on up the Fox River.

After traversing Lake Winnebago he found himself once more among Indians of the Algonquin stock whose language was intelligible. From them he heard of a "great water" which could be reached in three days by a short portage from the upper Fox River. The portage referred to was, of course, that into the Wisconsin River at what is now Portage City. Had he taken this "three days' journey" he would have debouched, not upon a new sea as he supposed, but upon the upper course of the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien opposite McGregor, Iowa. The "way to Iowa" had been pointed out, but many years were to pass before the first white man set foot on Iowa soil. Why Nicollet missed this opportunity, as he had already missed that at Lake Superior, is not in the least clear. What he did do was to travel overland to the south to visit and establish friendly relations with the great nation of Illinois Indians, obtaining at the same time some general notion of the extent of Lake Michigan.

But the discoveries of Nicollet were not soon to be followed up. Scarcely had he returned to Three Rivers when Champlain died. Then came a succession of incompetent Governors. The Iroquois took advantage of the situation and devastated the country, utterly destroying the Huron nation in 1649. Such of the Jesuit missionaries as had escaped death were hastily recalled. The fugitive Hurons and Ottawas betook themselves to the remotest shores of the Great Lakes or sought refuge at Quebec, while others became amalgamated with the Iroquois themselves. Even the fortified settlements on the St. Lawrence were in danger.

In 1660 Radisson and his brother-in-law, Grosseilliers, launched their canoes upon Lake Superior and followed the south shore to the end of the lake. Here they located the remnants of the Huron and Ottawa tribes, secure in these distant regions from the fury of the Iroquois. It is claimed that the brothers, in their overland ex-

plorations, came upon the Mississippi; but, while it may be reasonably inferred, this is not definitely confirmed by Radisson's journal.

Jean Talon, the capable Intendant of New France, was now devoting his best energies to establishing the claim of the mother country to the broad interior, the real extent of which was beginning to unfold with the simultaneous advance of missionary and fur trader. He meant to occupy this region and secure control of its great waterways. Little recked he of Far Cathay. He dreamed of a vast new empire for France. The English, mere grubbers of the soil, were to be confined to the region between the Atlantic coast and the Alleghanies, while Spanish influence was to be thwarted by the establishment of French colonies on the Gulf of Mexico.

A splendid expedition was organized under Saint-Lusson and sent to Sault Ste. Marie to take formal possession of the whole interior of North America in the name of the French King, Louis XIV. But Talon was determined to give the claim made in behalf of his sovereign a more substantial foundation. He resolved to discover and map the course of that mysterious "great river" concerning which such conflicting but insistent rumors had been current ever since the days of Champlain. To execute his purpose he chose Louis Joliet.

The experienced explorer was joined at Mackinac by Father Marquette, then in charge of the Huron mission at St. Ignace. It was early spring. The ice had just left the straits. They made instant haste to prepare for the journey. Five companions were chosen—all Frenchmen and experienced wood-rangers. Their two canoes of birch bark, stiffened with cedar splints, were selected with unusual care. Though large enough to carry safely the seven *voyageurs* and their provisions of smoked meat and maize, besides blankets, camp utensils, guns, instruments, and a quantity of trinkets to serve as presents to the Indians, they were still light enough to be easily portable. Joliet and the five wood-rangers were dressed in the buckskin suits then worn by frontiersmen; but Marquette retained his long black Jesuit's cassock and cumbered himself with no weapon save his rosary.

On the seventeenth of May, 1673, they pushed off their canoes into the crescent-shaped bay at St. Ignace, rounded the point to the south, and headed westward along the northern shore of Lake Michigan. The *voyageurs* must have felt the quickening influence of the changing season. They paddled all day, relieving one another by turns. Trolling lines were set to catch fish. At twilight they landed

to prepare for the night. The sand of the beach still retained the heat of the midday sun. Each canoe was hauled up beyond the reach of the waves, turned over, and propped up by one edge to serve as shelter. One of the party collected dry driftwood for the fire. Another cut forked sticks and set them up in the sand to hold a crossbar upon which the kettle was hung. Hulled corn was cooked; the fish were broiled in the embers; and Marquette blessed the simple meal. Then sitting 'round the camp fire, the tired explorers smoked their pipes and rested. Such was the routine of their voyage on Lake Michigan.

Pushing on day after day, along the route followed by Nicollet thirty-nine years before, the party soon entered Green Bay. They turned into the Menominee River and visited the village of the Indian tribe of the same name, which signifies wild rice. Here they heard dreadful tales of the country and the river which they were about to visit and were urged to go no farther. A few days later they were welcomed at the mission at the head of the bay, still conducted, as it had been founded, by Father Claude Allouez. After making some final arrangements here they ascended Fox River, crossed Lake Winnebago, and entered the devious course of the upper Fox. On the seventh of June they had reached the neighborhood of the portage to the Wisconsin River, first made known by Nicollet.

Guides were secured to conduct them to the point at which the portage was easiest. This point reached, they carried their canoes and baggage a mile and a half over a marshy prairie and, parting with their guides, launched upon the Meskousing (Wisconsin), whose current might bear them to the South Sea, the Gulf of California, or the Gulf of Mexico, they knew not which.

The navigation of the Wisconsin presented no serious difficulties and ten days later, on the seventeenth of June, the explorers floated out upon the broad surface of a mighty river, which they must have recognized at once as the "great water" which they had been sent to find out and explore. They were in the shadow of the almost mountainous bluff at the foot of which lies the quaint little town of South McGregor, the Bingen of the Mississippi. Beyond lay the rolling prairies of Iowa; but little did they, or their successors for a century and a half to come, dream of such a Commonwealth as ours. The depth and breadth of the channel and the swiftness of the current gave them some notion, however, of the extent of the territory to which they had gained access.

The way to Iowa—to the whole Middle West as well—had been discovered. But between the discovery of Iowa and the beginning

of the history of this Commonwealth there is an interval of a century or more. During this interval the region was frequently visited by white men. Its broad prairies, the Mesopotamia of the New World, were doubtless well known to the French and American traders who by turns coursed up and down the Mississippi and the Missouri in quest of buffalo skins.

But the men who have made Iowa and our Middle West what it is to-day came, not by way of the Great Lakes from Canada, nor up stream from the French colonies of Louisiana; not in canoes laden with baubles for cheating the savage, but in emigrant wagons with wives and children and bringing agricultural implements. They came swarming through the passes of the Alleghanies and brought with them into this new land the spirit of the American Revolution.

LAENAS G. WELD.

WHO DISCOVERED THE MISSISSIPPI ?

Our train had just left Prairie du Chien and swept across the long bridge which spans the Wisconsin River not far from its confluence with the Mississippi. I had spoken to the students of Campion College at Prairie du Chien about Father Marquette, and besides, this was the seventeenth of June.

This is the anniversary of Marquette's discovery of the Mississippi," I remarked to a stranger who occupied a seat with me. I am convinced that the man to whom I spoke later subscribed for the *Menace* and that if he is alive he has joined the Ku-Klux Klan. At any rate he snapped back at me with a determination to accept no statement from me on the subject of Marquette.

"I have read some history," he said, "and that history tells me that Marquette never did discover the Mississippi River. It was discovered by a Spaniard named De Soto, and that a hundred years before Marquette was born."

The objection which the man raised was not new to me, and his difficulty had on more than one occasion been brought forcibly to my mind on visiting Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington. As we enter the Capitol, there within the large rotunda we see the famous picture of the American painter Powell. We behold upon the canvas a band of Spanish warriors and adventurers, some arrayed in gay attire, bedecked with gaudy plumage and mounted upon richly caparisoned horses, some clad in rusty armor and carrying the old flintlock muskets of the fifteenth century. A cross is being erected near a large river; cannons are booming, groups of dusty savages watch the strangers from their boats or cluster around them on the shore. We approach the picture and read the title: "The Discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto in 1539." Passing from the rotunda to Statuary Hall, we see carved in the whitest of marble a figure truly inspiring. Again we read the title: "James Marquette, Who with Louis Joliet Discovered the Mississippi in 1673."

Here we meet the conflicting claimants. The Mississippi was discovered in 1539 and 1673; it was discovered by De Soto and by Marquette. To whom does the honor belong? Does the discovery of the one detract from that of the other? What right has Marquette to the honors of discovery since De Soto stood upon the banks of the great river of the New World a hundred years before Marquette was born? Is the title "discoverer" a misnomer when applied to the



MARQUETTE AND JOLLIET MONUMENT AT THE JUNCTION OF THE
WISCONSIN AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS.

(Photo by courtesy of Rev. A. H. Rohde, S. J., Prairie du Chien).

Jesuit missionary? Should not the sculptor have carved the word "explorer" on the pedestal of the statue in the Capitol?

De Soto reached the bank of the great river of the New World a century before Marquette launched his boat upon its waters; but this does not prove that the latter was not a discoverer. Lief and Thorfinn visited the North American continent, cut timber, built huts and attempted colonization; yet we do not call them the discoverers of America. A discoverer is not the one who simply visits a strange land, who touches an unknown coast, who crosses a stream which no human eye has seen before. He is one whose work results in something permanent, who adds something to the knowledge of the people calling him a discoverer, whether this knowledge be historical, geographical or ethnological.

"There is not a race of Asia—Eastern Siberian, Tartar, Chinese, Japanese, Malay with the Polynesians—which has not been claimed as discoverers, intending or accidental, or American shores, or as progenitors, more or less perfect or remote, of American peoples, and there is no good reason why anyone of them may not have done all that is claimed. Yet we do not call any one of these nations the discoverers of America, nor would we do so even if the claims advanced were of indisputable authority." So writes the historian Winsor.

John Fiske, in his "Discovery of America," has the following passage in regard to the pre-Columbia voyages:

"Nothing can be clearer, however, from a survey of the whole subject than that these pre-Columbian voyages were quite barren of results of historic importance. In point of colonization they produced the two ill-fated settlements on the Greenland coast, and nothing more. Otherwise they made no real addition to the stock of geographical knowledge, they wrought no effect whatever upon the European mind outside of Scandinavia, and even in Iceland itself the mention of coasts beyond Greenland awakened no definite ideas, and, except for a brief season, excited no interest.

"Vineland voyages had practically lapsed from memory before the end of the fourteenth century. Nothing had been accomplished by these voyages which could properly be called a contribution to geographical knowledge. To speak of them as constituting, in any legitimate sense of the phrase, a discovery of America is simply absurd. Except for Greenland, which was supposed to be a part of the European world, America remained as much undiscovered after the eleventh century as before. In the midsummer of 1492 it needed to be discovered as much as if Lief Ericson or the whole race of the Northmen had never existed.

“As these pre-Columbian voyages produced no effect in the eastern hemisphere, except to leave in Icelandic literature a scanty but interesting record, so in the western hemisphere they seem to have produced no effect beyond cutting down a few trees and killing a few Indians. In the outlying world of Greenland it is not improbable that the blood of the Eskimos may have received some slight Scandinavian infusion. But upon the aboriginal world of the red men, from Davis Strait to Cape Horn, it is not likely that any impression of any sort was made. It is in the highest degree probable that Lief Ericson and his friends made a few voyages to what we now know to have been the coast of North America; but it is abuse of language to say that they discovered America. In no sense was any real contact established between the eastern and western halves of our planet until the great voyage of Columbus in 1492.”

According to Fiske, then, two things are necessary to merit the title and honors of a discoverer. First, to find the land or country in question, and secondly, to establish permanent intercourse between the country discovered and the country which bestows the title of discoverer. The last of these conditions was not verified in regard to the Northmen, and therefore neither Lief nor Thorfinn can be called the discoverer of America.

In the beginning of the last century grave historians wrote books to prove that De Soto really existed, that he was not a fictitious personage but a man of flesh and blood, that he penetrated far into the southern part of the American continent, that he discovered the Mississippi, that he was buried in its current. All this is familiar to us now, but it was not so evident a hundred years ago, before the research of patient seekers after truth brought to light the dusty and forgotten documents hidden away in European archives. We mention those facts here to show how completely the work of the dauntless Spanish explorer had been obliterated from the memory of man. So many were the strange and contradictory reports about the New World, the fountain of perpetual youth which bestowed the boon of immortality on those who drank of its waters; the El Dorado, richer in gold than the temple of Solomon; the passage to the Indies, not by way of the frozen straits of the north, but through a land blessed with all the fruits of the tropics: the “Sea of Verrazano,” which washed the shores of Cathay; the “wondrous isles that gemmed the sunny sea”—when all these proved to be but the work of the imagination, fact was confounded with fiction, and people refused to accept the accounts of those expeditions which had cost the lives of scores of Spanish adventurers.

Nor are we surprised at their incredulity. It was the story of the shepherd lad who cried "Wolf! Wolf!" to deceive the neighbors, and when the wolf did come no one believed him. How exaggerated, for instance, were the tales of golden cities! Caligula was considered extravagant because he shod his horse with golden shoes. What was to be thought of these people who lived in golden houses and the streets of whose cities were paved with golden blocks? When the El Dorado vanished like the golden clouds of a summer morning, with it disappeared many of the facts of history; for the nations of Europe refused to believe them. Such was the fate of the great river of the New World. It was navigated for many leagues and described accurately by the chroniclers of the expeditions. Then gradually it disappeared from the minds of men and was forgotten; its history became a fable, as unreal as the wonderful house and the wonderful giant in the story of "Jack and the Bean Stalk." Like the American continent in the time of Columbus, it needed to be discovered.

The historian John Gilmary Shea in "The Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," writes: "Such clear accounts of a great river which the party of De Soto had found navigable for at least a thousand miles would naturally have drawn attention to it; but we find no notice of any Spanish vessels entering the river to trade in furs or slaves, or simply to explore. The Mississippi was now forgotten, and although explored for a thousand miles, known to have at least two branches equal in size to the finest rivers in Spain, to be nearly a league wide and perfectly navigable, it is laid down on maps as an insignificant stream, often not distinguished by its name of Espiritu Santo, and then we are left to conjecture what petty line was intended for the great river off the West."

A careful study of the maps drawn by different cartographers during the century which elapsed from the death of De Soto to the birth of Marquette shows more conclusively than the testimony of historians that the Mississippi was either forgotten or was considered as a small stream of no importance. We are surprised to see with what accuracy the entire South American continent was depicted. The Amazon was traced with such precision that in order to find fault we must compare the work with the pages of a modern textbook. From Point Gallinas to the Straits of Magellan the coast had been explored, and in many places the bold adventurer had penetrated far into the interior. The maps of Florida, and especially of the inland country, are by no means as accurate.

Maps published a score of years after the death of De Soto mark the river of the Espiritu Santo as a large stream, but it is evident

that the topographers had but the vaguest idea of the river and the land through which it flowed. We turn the pages of history and examine the maps drawn half a century after the death of De Soto. What do we find? Have explorations added to the knowledge already accumulated? We look in vain for any addition to the researches already made. In fact the Mississippi, by a strange evolution, grows smaller and smaller. Finally it is not worthy of a name, and is marked as a river of less consequence than the tributaries of the St. Lawrence. Did, then, De Soto's work produce any lasting results? Were not his adventures as effectively erased from the memory of man as the visits of the Northmen to the continent? In fact, if we examine De Soto's titles carefully, we find that he can claim neither of the requirements of the true discoverer. He was not first upon the scene, for Pineda preceded him by twenty years. Nor did his work produce lasting results, as we have shown from the testimony of historians and the maps of cartographers.

Before beginning his voyage of discovery Marquette collected all the information he could in regard to the great river which he hoped to find; and it was just this careful preparation that crowned his work with success. But, the missionary derived none of his knowledge from the former discoveries of De Soto. That knowledge, whatever had been its extent, had long since vanished from the minds of men. It was only after years of patient investigation that the Jesuit was assured that the great body of water was not an ocean, as Nicollett had thought, but an immense river. The cartographical knowledge which he was enabled to accumulate before his own explorations, far from detracting from his right to the honors of a discoverer, only increases our admiration for the intrepid missionary. Nor was this information as accurate as some writers would have us believe, and the map which we have from the hand of Father Marquette could not possibly have been drawn before the voyage down the Mississippi. Examine the photographic facsimile of the map in the fifty-ninth volume of the "Jesuit Relations" and you will see at a glance that the original could not have been prepared by anyone who had not gone over the whole ground.

It seems ungrateful to deny to the bold Spanish adventurer the honors which his explorations would at first sight seem to claim for him. He had all the qualities of a great captain; he was shrewd, daring, prudent, of an amiable and winning disposition, yet stern and inflexible when duty demanded. Could human foresight have provided for the difficulties of his task he would have succeeded. But,

alas, he knew not the obstacles before him—the impervious forest, the lurking foe, the miasmatic swamp, the fatal fever. One by one he saw his proud and gallant army dwindle away, until at last he died on the banks of the great river of the New World. Had De Soto survived his expedition, his indomitable energy would no doubt have made known to the people of Spain the importance of his discovery. That his work produced no lasting results was not his fault. That these lasting results were not produced and that the Mississippi was forgotten no one can deny.

The man who discovered it was Père Marquette; or, to speak more accurately, it was Marquette and Joliet who discovered it. To the missions along the inland seas, to Quebec, to France, the news was heralded. La Salle followed in the wake of the discoverers and planted the fleur-de-lis on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico. Hennepin ascended the river to the Falls of St. Anthony. Allouez hastened to carry the good tidings of the gospel to the tribes who lived along its banks. The trader and the trapper penetrated farther and farther into the continent. From this on there is an unbroken line of progress. Marquette not only discovered the great river, but he gave to Europe ethnological, historical and geographical knowledge hitherto unknown. He pointed out the large tributaries which poured their volume of water into the Mississippi basin, thus connecting the interior with the Gulf of Mexico. He solved the problem of reaching the Pacific by the Missouri, and the route which he indicated was followed when the tide of emigration set in. His work and not De Soto's meets the requirements of the one who merits to be called in the strict sense of the word the discoverer of the Mississippi.

The seventeenth day of June, 1923 was the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the Mississippi River by Marquette. He and not De Soto was the real discoverer. No serious historian will take from him the honor.

STORY OF THE VOYAGE

It was the eighth of December, 1672. The Hurons and Ottawas at the mission of Saint Ignatius, Mackinac, were huddled in their bark cabins near the little chapel. The fishing season was past; the call of the seagull was heard no more along the ice-crustured shore; the last Indian flotilla had returned from Montreal; the bleak, lonely months of winter had begun. The eighth of December and the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Mother of God! From his earliest youth Marquette had cherished a tender devotion to

Mary Immaculate; for the past two years he had prayed to her to guide him to the villages of the Illinois and the banks of the great river, promising to call it the river of the Immaculate Conception, and now it seemed that his prayer was to be heard.

The eighth day of December. Standing at the door of his chapel Marquette saw far out over the water a small dark object which seemed like a gull riding the chill waves. As it came closed it took the form of a canoe. But what important mission could tempt the voyager to commit himself to the dangerous inland seas at such a season? The canoe touched the strand. Marquette grasped the hand of Joliet. The blackrobe's heart was filled with gladness. Joliet had come to find the great river of the Illinois, and Marquette was to be his companion.

There is a vague suspicion which finds expression at times in popular lectures that Joliet, the companion of Marquette, has been deprived of a justly merited honor. Why all this talk about Marquette? it is asked. Was not Joliet the representative of the French Government? Was he not appointed by Frontenac, the Governor of Canada? Did he not lead the expedition? Did he not bear to Quebec the tidings of the discovery? Why did he not receive full recognition of services? Why did not the State of Wisconsin place his statue in the Hall of Fame at Washington? Why simply carve his name on the pedestal of the statue of Marquette as if he were only secondary in the expedition with little more authority than the old trapper Jaques who ministered to the wants of the missionary, or the faithful *coureur de bois* Pierre, who watched at the side of Marquette as the latter lay dying on the shore of Lake Michigan? What is the answer to these question? Was any effort made to rob Joliet of his name as a discoverer? Has history a solution for the enigma?

The work of the missionaries among the Indian tribes of Canada is known to all who have read American history. But the Jesuits were not content to administer to the spiritual needs of the French settlements and conduct their various Indian missions. They were priests and missionaries, but at the same time, as members of an educational order which had for one of its principal aims the training of Christian youth, they sought to make their college in Quebec rival in its course of instruction the oldest and best institutions of Europe. Here were gathered the sons of the army officers and other officials, and those of the more wealthy citizens who had the means and inclination to give their children an education. The public exercises of the college were attended by the principal personages of the city,

proud to see that the educational refinement of France was being so soon transferred to the colonies of the New World.

Among the first of the students to win applause in the public exercises of the college of Quebec was Louis Joliet. At that time, July 2, 1666, he was an ecclesiastical student, but later on abandoned the idea of entering the priesthood. He retained through life his esteem and attachment for his Jesuit professors.

Louis Joliet was born in Quebec, and was baptized there in September, 1645. In 1667 he went to France, where he spent a year, and on returning to Canada he was sent by Talon to search for the copper mines of Lake Superior. During this voyage he probably met Father Marquette at the mission of Sault Ste Marie in the summer of 1671. In 1672 Joliet was deputed by Frontenac to explore the vast regions of the West and to search for a large river of which wonderful accounts had reached Quebec. He went to decide upon the strategic and commercial value of the country. He went as a government official, a topographer, a surveyor. He was prepared by education and experience to fulfill the important trust committed to him. If he discovered the river he was to report what use could be made of it. Could forts be erected along its banks to act as a barrier to further extension of the English colonies? Could the Indians be gained over so that the French would enjoy the exclusive trade in their rich pelts? Such was his mission; such was the information he was deputed to collect. He accomplished his task most satisfactorily, and for his services to the Government received the Island of Anticosti, noted for its extensive fisheries. During the English invasion of 1690 he lost what fortune he had accumulated and died in poverty about the year 1700.

Why has not posterity given to Joliet the honors of the discovery of the Mississippi? If we turn to the records of the times we shall find an answer to these questions. It is true that only Joliet received from Frontenac the official appointment to undertake the voyage of discovery, but he was to make use of the information furnished by the missionaries. They had already penetrated far into the solitudes of the western world. Three years before Joliet's appointment Marquette had reached the western shore of Lake Superior; Father Allouez had stood upon the banks of the tributaries of the great river; Father Dablon had written so accurate an account of the Mississippi that it reads today like a description of one who had navigated the river from its source to its mouth. As superior of the Ottawa missions and in constant communication with his subjects, he transmitted to Quebec from his station at Mackinac not only the informa-

tion gathered by personal experience but also that obtained from other missionaries. He knew the Indian name of the stream and the direction in which it flowed; he knew its width; he knew of the treeless plains stretching to the east and west and supplanted by the tropical forests of the distant south; he knew that the Mississippi poured its waters into the Gulf of Mexico or the Gulf of California.

Speaking of explorations which the missionaries contemplated making, Father Dablon writes: "At some days' journey from the mission of Saint Francis Xavier, which is on the bay of Puans (Green Bay), is found a great river more than a league in width. This, coming from the regions of the north and flowing south, extends to such a distance that the savages who have navigated it, in going to seek for their enemies, after many days' journey have not found its mouth, which can only be the Sea of Florida or the Sea of California. Mention will be made hereafter of a very considerable nation living in the direction of that river and of the journey we hope to make there this year to carry the Faith and at the same time to gain a knowledge of the new countries."

In the "Relations" of 1670 and 1671 Father Dablon not only refers to the same subject, but gives the name of the river. "A southward course is taken by the great river, called by the natives Mississippi, which must empty somewhere in the region of the Florida Sea, and more than four hundred league hence. Fuller mention will be made of it hereafter. Beyond that great river lie the eight villages of the Illinois, a hundred leagues from the mission of the Holy Spirit."

Writing of the Illinois, whom he and Father Allouez visited, he says: "These people are situated in the midst of that beautiful region mentioned by us, near the great river named Mississippi, of which it is well to note here what information we have gathered. It seems to form an inclosure, as it were, for all our lakes, rising in the regions of the north and following towards the south, until it empties into the sea—supposed by us to be either the Florida Sea or the Sea of Vermilion (Gulf of California), as there is no knowledge of any large rivers in that direction except those which empty into those two seas. Some savages have assured us that this is so noble a river that more than three hundred leagues from its mouth it is larger than the one flowing before Quebec, for they declare that it is more than a league wide. They also state that all this vast stretch of country consists of nothing but treeless prairies until we come within twenty league of the sea, where forests begin to appear again. Some warriors who declare that they made their way hither from

this country tell us that they saw men there resembling the French, who were splitting trees with knives, and that some of them had their houses on the water; for thus they expressed themselves in speaking of sawed boards and ships. They state further that all along the great river are various tribes of different nations and dissimilar languages and customs, and all at war with each other."

Such in brief is the information gathered by the scattered blackrobes and sent by them to Quebec and even to France before Joliet received his commission to undertake the discovery. It is true that other Frenchmen heard of the great river, but they had neither the education nor the inclination to make a record of their observations. It was from the Jesuits that the Canadian Government received by far the greater part of the information in regard to the Mississippi. None of this information came from Joliet. The Jesuits held the key to this unknown land, this far-famed river; Joliet entered the door which they unlocked, he followed the way which they pointed out to him.

It was not by chance or any casual meeting that Marquette accompanied Joliet. This we learn from a letter written by Father Dablon after the return of Joliet from the voyage. "On arriving in the Ottawa country he (Joliet) joined Father Marquette, who awaited him for the voyage, and who had long premeditated the undertaking." If Joliet held the official appointment from the Government, Marquette was duly appointed by his superior to undertake the discovery. But was any effort made by the missionary to deprive Joliet of the glory? The question sounds like an insult to the gentle, simple, unpretending Marquette, who gave to his companion the honor of carrying to Quebec the glad tidings of the discovery. He himself remained with the Indians in the forest while Joliet reported the success of the expedition to Frontenac, and the Mississippi was claimed and occupied by the French. Joliet received the Island of Anticosti for his services, and history awarded the glory of the enterprise to the Jesuit missionary. Wisconsin has carved the verdict in marble; that verdict will not be changed.

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THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

The discovery of the Mississippi River was a result of Spain's attempt to explore and colonize the mainland north of Cuba, which after its discovery by Juan Ponce de León in 1513, became known as La Florida. Spain realized the necessity of exploring and colonizing this new acquisition of territory if she would secure it for herself and protect her West Indies against foreign conquest. At the same time she was eagerly bent on solving the so-called Northern Mystery—the question as to whether or not somewhere across the northern continent there existed a strait connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific and thus affording a shorter sea-route to China. This explains why after the discovery of La Florida, which name then designated all the land indefinitely north of the Gulf of Mexico and west of the Atlantic Ocean, numerous Spanish expeditions set out to explore the vast unknown regions. Three of these expeditions penetrated to, and even beyond, the Mississippi River and therefore justify the claim that the distinction of having discovered our country's great waterway belongs to the Spaniards.

In 1519, Francisco de Garay, Governor of Jamaica, commissioned Alonzo Álvarez de Pinéda to explore the Florida coast. Having landed somewhere on the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico, De Pinéda sailed eastward and then southward to the extremity of the peninsula, which he was prevented from rounding, however, by the heavy storms that arose. Turning his four vessels back, he navigated along the entire Gulf coast, westward and southward, until he arrived somewhere near Tampico, Mexico, where he met Hernando Cortés, who was just beginning his perilous conquest of Mexico. It may have been in part this unexpected encounter that induced De Pinéda to retrace his course. Sailing north, he kept close to shore and "reached the mouth of a great river, supposed to be the Mississippi, where he found a large town, and on both sides of its banks, for a distance of six leagues up its course, some forty native villages. Here he remained forty days, careening his ships, and finding the natives well disposed and tractable."¹ The river he named Rio del Espiritus Santo (River of the Holy Ghost). This voyage

¹ Lowery, Woodbury: *Spanish Settlements in the United States, 1513-1574*, vol. i, pp. 148-151.

of exploration, which consumed nine months of continuous sailing, furnished for Spain conclusive evidence that Florida was not an island, as De León had supposed, but a peninsular; and, if the "great river" was really the Mississippi, this was the first time that a European got sight of, and sailed on, the mighty stream.

After two unsuccessful attempts to colonize Florida, made by De León in 1521 and by De Ayllon in 1523, a third expedition set out in 1528, headed by Pánfilo de Narváez. He had received from the Spanish crown a grant of land which was to extend from the Río de las Palmas, in Mexico, all around the Gulf coast to the extremity of Florida. Accompanied by about six hundred colonists, De Narváez sailed from Cuba in February, 1528. Six secular priests and five Franciscans went along, the former as chaplains to the army and the latter as missionaries to the Indians. One of the Franciscans was Father Juan Suarez. He had been named "Bishop of Florida and Río de las Palmas." This is the first episcopal appointment for any portion of what is now the United States. On Holy Thursday, April 14, the fleet anchored in Tampa Bay. After taking formal possession of the territory, De Narváez sent his vessels, carrying the women who had come with the expedition, westward along the coast, while he himself with the men followed by land in the same direction, at first keeping close to the shore and then penetrating farther inland. As a result, the two parties lost sight of each other; whereupon the vessels turned back and, after vainly spending a month in search of the men, sailed home without them.

Meanwhile, De Narváez and his three hundred followers, including Father Juan Suarez, Father De Palos, and three secular priests, had been pushing into the interior. By the end of August, the weary and famished explorers reached Apalachee Bay. Here five boats were built and, on September 22, the 240 survivors set sail along the coast in a westerly direction, hoping to reach Mexico. For over a month the frail boats were at the mercy of the stormy sea and generally out of hailing distance of one another. Early in November, the boat in command of Cabéza de Vaca came to a "broad river." The commander himself relates what happened. "We sailed that day until the middle of the afternoon when my boat, which was the first, discovered a point made by the land, and against a cape opposite, passed a broad river. I cast anchor near a little island, forming the point, to await the arrival of the other boats. The Governor (De Narváez) did not choose to come up, and entered a bay near by, in which there were a great many islets. We came together there, and took fresh water from the sea, the stream entering it in

freshet. To parch some of the maize we brought with us, since we had eaten it raw for two days, we went on an island; but finding no wood we agreed to go to the river beyond the point, one league off. By no effort could we get there, so violent was the current on the way, which drove us out, while we contended and strove to gain the land. The north wind, which came from the shore, began to blow so strongly that it forced us to sea without our being able to overcome it. We sounded half a league out, and found with thirty fathoms we could not get bottom; but we were unable to satisfy ourselves that the current was not the cause of failure. Toiling in this manner to fetch land, we navigated three days, and at the end of this time, a little before the sun rose, we saw smoke in several places along the shore. Attempting to reach them, we found ourselves in three fathoms of water, and in the darkness we dared not come to land; for as we had seen so many smokes, some surprise might lie in wait, and the obscurity leave us at a loss how to act. We determined therefore to stop until morning." Had the Spaniards landed, they might have met with friendly Indians, obtained minute information regarding the "board river," and eventually carried the news overland to Mexico where by this time Cortés had already gained a firm footing and the Franciscans were beginning to evangelize the natives. As it was, De Narváez decided "to stop until morning"; but, as the *Narrative* continues, "when day came, the boats had lost sight of each other."² Two boats were never heard of again; the other three met on the following afternoon and together continued in a westerly direction, still hoping to reach Mexico. But after four days another storm arose and again the boats were separated—this time forever. Of the 240 men who set sail on September 22 only four survived and eventually reached Mexico. One of these was Cabéza de Vaca. He was dashed to the shore somewhere west of the mouth of the Mississippi.³ Here he was taken captive by the Indians and subsequently lived eight years among the natives of eastern Texas and Louisiana. Finally, with the three other survivors, he succeeded in making his escape and reached Mexico on July 23, 1536. He at once proceeded to Spain for the purpose of obtaining a royal patent which would authorize him to colonize the

² *Narrative of Cabéza de Vaca*, critically edited by Frederick W. Hodge, in *Original Narratives of Early American History*.

³ Francis Parkman errs when, in his *Pioneers of New France* (chap. i), he makes Cabéza de Vaca cross "the Mississippi near Memphis" and journey "westward by the waters of the Argansas and the Red River to New Mexico." Cabéza never saw New Mexico, excepting, perhaps, the extreme southeastern corner.

territory where he had spent those eight years and from which he expected great things for himself and his country. But he arrived in Spain on August 9, 1537, only to find that Hernando de Soto had been appointed three months before by Emperor Charles to take over the governorship of Cuba and to colonize Florida. De Soto sought to enlist the services of De Vaca, but the latter declined when he remembered the treatment he had received at the hands of De Narváez.

Hernando De Soto is the first white man regarding whom we have clear and conclusive evidence that he not only sighted the Mississippi but also crossed the stream and explored the country westward along the Arkansas River into Oklahoma; while his successor in command, Luis de Moscóso, must be regarded as the first white man who cruised on the great River for any considerable distance. On April 6, 1538, nine months after De Vaca's arrival in Spain, De Soto weighed anchor in the Spanish harbor of San Lucar and on Whitsunday landed in Cuba. Here he spent a year visiting the island of which he was now governor and making the final preparations for his expedition to Florida. At last, on Sunday, May 18, 1539, his fleet of nine vessels, carrying six hundred men and more than two hundred horses, set sail and a week later reached the northern mainland. The eight secular priests accompanying the expedition were to serve as army chaplains, while the four friars (two Dominicans, one Trinitarian, and one Franciscan) were eventually to begin missionary work among the Indians. It was Pentecost Sunday when they sighted land; wherefore the beautiful bay—now Tampa Bay—was named *Bahia del Espiritu Santo* (Bay of the Holy Ghost). From here the nine vessels were sent back to Cuba with instructions to return at a certain time, laden with provisions. Thereupon De Soto and his army penetrated into the interior of the country, northward and eastward. "This was the beginning of three years of wandering," writes Bolton, "in the course of which De Soto and his men traversed Florida, Georgia, Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Texas."⁴ It does not fall within the scope of this study to follow the Spaniards on this long and hazardous march. Suffice it to say that in skillful leadership, heroic endurance, and thrilling adventure, De Soto's expedition is easily comparable with that of Cortés in Mexico of Pizáro in Peru, and of Coronádo in New Mexico.

⁴ Bolton, Dr. Herbert E.: *The Spanish Borderlands*, p. 51.

On December 17, 1540, the army by this time reduced to five hundred men, arrived at Chicaga, an Indian village in the present State of Mississippi, and remained there over winter till April 25, 1541, when they resumed the march and a week later reached a town in the Province of Quizquiz that bordered on the Mississippi River. "There was little maize in the place," the Gentleman of Elvas tells us,⁵ "and the Governor moved to another town, half a league (a mile and a half) from the great river where it was found in sufficiency. He went to look at the river (the Mississippi), and saw that near it was much timber, of which piraguas (barges) might be made, and a good situation in which the camp might be placed. He directly moved, built houses, and settled on a plain a crossbow-shot from the water, bringing together there all the maize of the towns behind, that at once they might go to work and cut down trees for sawing out planks to build barges." The site selected for the camp was probably near Lower Chicawab Bluffs. To the Indians of this locality the great river was known as the Chucagua. Before long, two hundred canoes filled with armed Indians appeared off the camp. Divining the object of their visit, especially when their cacique refused to land and treat with the Spaniards, De Soto realized the importance of teaching the treacherous savages a lesson. In the skirmish that ensued five or six of the Indians were killed.

By the beginning of June four barges were ready for use. One fine morning, between two and seven o'clock, the barges could be seen plying to and fro across the river, bringing the Spaniards, a number at a time, to the opposite shore. Lewis, in his critical edition of the *Elvas Narrative*, notes that "the crossing was made either at Council Bend or Walnut Bend, in Tunica County, Mississippi, in a straight line some twenty-five to thirty-eight miles below Memphis."

Having reached the other side of the Mississippi River, at the southeastern extremity of St. Francis County, Arkansas, De Soto and his army set out on an extended tour of exploration, covering a period of ten months and bringing the Spaniards across the entire State of Arkansas into eastern Oklahoma. By the middle of April, 1542, they were back on the banks of the Mississippi and pitched camp at Guachoya, a deserted Indian village on the south bank of the Arkansas, near its confluence with the Mississippi.

⁵ The Gentleman of Elvas, by which name alone he is known in history, took part in this expedition and wrote the *Narrative* thereof. It is from this *Narrative*, as edited critically by G. H. Lewis in *Original Narratives of American History*, that the writer drew for facts regarding the De Soto expedition.

Whatever the motives and methods of the Spanish conqueror may have been in his daring enterprise, it must be said to his credit that he nobly shared every suffering and privation with his men; and that now, finding himself at a loss how to bring the army, by this time reduced to nearly half of its original number, back to home and civilization, he sincerely sympathized with their sad lot and perhaps even reproached himself for having exacted such sacrifices of them to satisfy his own ambition. Only for the deep melancholy that now gathered over him, the fever with which he was stricken shortly after arriving at Guachoya, would hardly have proved fatal so soon. As it was, his illness became alarming and, calling Luis de Moscóso to his bedside, he put him in command of the army. Then the intrepid conqueror knelt at the feet of one of the priests and went to confession—for the last time. That same day he surrendered his soul into the hands of his Maker. It was May 21, 1542, when he breathed his last, just a week before Pentecost Sunday, on which day, three years before his fleet cast anchor off the shores of Florida. To conceal his death from the pagan Indians, who regarded him and his men as children of the sun and therefore gods who could not die, the Spaniards consigned the remains of their leader to the silent waters of the Mississippi.

Though one purpose of De Soto's expedition as of most other Spanish expedition in the New World was to find lands rich in gold and pearls, this was by no means the only purpose, as some writers would have us believe. In the case of De Soto it is plain as day, from the *Elvas Narrative*, that the friars had full liberty, so far as circumstances allowed, to realize also *their* object in accompanying the expedition. Thus, in the spring of 1540, an Indian was baptized in Florida, after having received the necessary instructions during the preceding winter. This Indian remained faithful and was still with the Spaniards when they reached the Mississippi. It will interest the reader to know that he was named Peter and that his is the first recorded baptism within the present limits of the United States. Missionary work among the Indians must have continued throughout the journey westward. For, when Luis de Moscóso, as we shall hear presently, decided to return to Mexico with the survivors of the expedition, there were with the Spaniards five hundred Indians who "were all Christians of their own free will," as the Gentleman of Elvas puts it, that is to say, who were all instructed in the tenets of Christianity and were leading Christian lives, though as yet, for obvious reasons, deprived of the Sacrament of Baptism.

Luis de Moscóso, now in command, contemplated an overland journey to Mexico and for that reason, on June 5, 1542, set out with the army in a southwesterly direction. They got probably as far as the Brazos River in Young County, Texas. But pressed by hunger, misled by their guides, and harassed by warlike tribes, they at last decided to return to the great river and build boats, on which to sail down the stream to wherever it would bring them. Accordingly they retraced their steps and in December, 1542, came to the Mississippi and camped in an Indian village at the mouth of the Arkansas, apparently opposite Guachoya, whence they had started seven months before. Here, with the aid of the friendly Indians, they set to building barges. By the beginning of summer, seven were finished and in these on July 2, 1543, the 320 survivors began that perilous voyage of 720 miles down to the mouth of the Mississippi River. Two weeks of perils and thrills elapsed before they came in sight of the Gulf of Mexico. Continuing along the Gulf coast westward and southward, they, on September 10, 1543, reached the mouth of the Panúco River, on the eastern coast of Mexico. Before long they "saw Indians of both sexes in the apparel of Spain. Asking in what country they were, they received the answer in their own language, that it was the Rio de Panúco (also Panúco), and that the town of the Christians was fifteen leagues (forty-five miles) inland. The pleasure that all received at this news can not be sufficiently expressed; they felt as though life had been newly given them. Many," the Gentleman of Elvas concludes, "leaping on shore, kissed the ground; and all, on bended knees, with hands raised above them, and their eyes to heaven, remained untiring in giving thanks to God."

The reader will doubtless have noticed that in the course of this study two of the Spanish conquerors, De Pinéda in 1519 and De Vaca in 1528, were said to have sighted at least the mouth of the Mississippi River twenty-two, resp. thirteen years before De Soto (1541), the man generally credited with the distinction of having discovered the great river. Who, then, it may be asked, is really the discoverer of the Mississippi River? The title can not be given to all three, because only one could have been the first to get sight of our country's mighty stream.

That the "great river" which De Pinéda saw in 1519 and named Rio del Espiritus Santo and up the banks of which he sailed six leagues (eighteen miles) during the space of forty days, was the Mississippi, can hardly be regarded as probable. Indeed, there was a time when distinguished historians like Harris, Winsor, Shea, and Fiske, looked upon De Pinéda's "great river" as being the Missis-

issippi. But, as Ogg points out, it is more likely that what this Spanish navigator discovered and explored were Mobile Bay and Mobile River. "It is possible, of course," the same writer observes, "that Pinéda passed close by the Mississippi's mouth, but if he did, no genuinely trustworthy record of the fact has survived. In all probability he was utterly unaware of the great river's existence."⁶ That he sailed up the "great river" for a distance of eighteen miles, finding a large town at its mouth and forty villages on its banks, indicates quite plainly that he was not at the mouth of the Mississippi. The chronography of the region excludes the possibility of Indian villages having been located there.

The case of De Vaca, however, is quite different. That the "broad river" which he sighted nine years after the voyage of De Pinéda was really the Mississippi, is now accepted as a fact by the best authorities. The incidents and circumstances related at this point in his *Narrative* offer almost conclusive evidence in support of this opinion. Commenting on this "broad river" of De Vaca, Hodge is convinced that it was "the Mississippi, the waters of which were now seen by white men fourteen years before the 'discovery' of the stream by De Soto."⁷ Lowery thinks "it was probably the Mississippi River" which De Vaca sighted and mentions Buckingham Smith, Prince, and Davis as being of the same opinion."⁸ More emphatic is Ogg when, without further comment, he tells his readers that "the little vessel commanded by Cabéza De Vaca sailed out into the placid waters of the easternmost mouth of the Mississippi."⁹ Bolton says that it was "no doubt the Mississippi"¹⁰ and in another work conjointly by him and Marshall, when sketching the De Narváez expedition, declares simply that "after passing the mouth of the Mississippi, a storm arose, and all were wrecked on the coast of Texas."¹¹ What strikes one as very singular is the fact that, according to the *Elvas Narrative*, De Soto was apparently little surprised when he came in sight of the great stream. One should expect that he would have made much of the discovery. The fact is, however, that he conducted himself like one who knew all about the

⁶ Ogg, Frederick A.: *The Opening of the Mississippi*, p. 25.

⁷ Hodge, Frederick W.: *The Narrative of Cabéza de Vaca in Original Narratives of Early American History*, pp. 41, 8.

⁸ Lowery, Woodbury: *Spanish Settlements in the United States*, vol. i, p. 172.

⁹ Ogg, Frederick A.: *The Opening of the Mississippi*, p. 25.

¹⁰ Bolton, Dr. Herbert E.: *The Spanish Borderlands*, p. 24.

¹¹ Bolton & Marshall: *The Colonization of North America*, p. 41.

river's existence and whereabouts and was solely bent on getting across. If he was so informed, then there is every reason for believing that he got the information from De Vaca. The reader will remember that De Vaca spent eight years among the natives of the Mississippi region, wandering from tribe to tribe in the capacity of trader and medicine man. During this time he surely must have heard of the great river to the east and very probably also reached its banks a few hundred miles north of its mouth. When he arrived in Spain, in 1537, and found his own hopes of conquest in North America frustrated by the appointment of De Soto for that enterprise, he may have told De Soto all he knew of the lands he had visited and what he had seen and heard of the great river. This hypothesis is given new weight by the fact that De Vaca's sojourn in the western regions of what was then still known as La Florida is so frequently referred to in the *Elvas Narrative* of the De Soto expedition. Weighing this evidence and taking the term "to discover" in its modern and obvious meaning, namely, "to obtain for the first time sight or knowledge of, as of a thing existing already, but not perceived or known," then we must conclude that the distinction of having discovered the Mississippi belongs to De Vaca and not to De Soto. The latter, of course, was the first white man to cross the river and Moscóso the first white man to navigate it for any considerable distance. But the first white man to get "sight or knowledge of" it was De Vaca, one of the four survivors of the ill-fated De Narváez expedition.

Another expedition very frequently spoken of as having resulted in the discovery of the Mississippi River is the one of 1673, entrusted by the French Government to M. Louis Joliet just 131 years after the death of De Soto. This year being the 250th anniversary of the expedition, it is but just that it be given wide attention and made the occasion of elaborate festivities. Only for the enterprising and heroic spirit of Joliet and his companion, Father James Marquette, many a year might have yet elapsed before the Indians in the Mississippi valley would have received the blessings of Christianity and civilization. It was in very deed this first systematic exploration of the great river that opened new and fertile fields for the missionaries of New France and New Spain. When, as a result of that expedition, France became aware of the fact that the river emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, she realized her opportunity for territorial expansion; while Spain in turn was now compelled to occupy what she already claimed by right of discovery. For the Indians this proved most fortunate, inasmuch as it brought them under the sway

and influence of two nations which at that time were still Catholic and therefore disposed, though primarily for material gain, to aid and protect their respective missionaries.

While no one can deny the far-reaching importance of the 1673 expedition, it is another question whether it can be justly credited with the distinction of having discovered the Mississippi River, considering the incontestable fact that the Spaniards had sighted and sailed on the stream more than a hundred years before. Those who contend that Joliet and Marquette discovered the river, take the term "to discover" in its obsolete meaning of "to explore, examine, reconnoiter;" while others, like John Gilmary Shea are inconsistent, saying now that it was a discovery and then that it was an exploration.¹² Another question frequently discussed in this connection is the relative position of Joliet and Marquette in the voyage of 1673. Some hold that Joliet was the leader of the expedition, while others contend that it was Marquette. Both these interesting, and in a way also important, questions were discussed in two recent issues of *The Queen's Work*.¹³ In the June issue,¹⁴ Henry S. Spaulding, S. J., contended that not De Soto, but Marquette "merits to be called in the strict sense of the word the discoverer of the Mississippi." Accepting Fiske's and Winsor's definition of "to discover," he held with them that "two things are necessary to merit the title and honors of a discoverer. First, to find the land or country in question, and secondly, to establish permanent intercourse between the country discovered and the country which bestows the title of discoverer." As his minor premise he set forth the fact that the Spaniards did not fulfil the second requirement; and then he drew the conclusion as worded above. In the July issue of *The Queen's Work*, the same writer went a step farther, contending that in the French expedition of 1673 the leadership must be assigned to Mar-

¹² See his *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, Preface, pp. xx, xlii, lxxi, lxxii, lxxix, lxxx.—For the use of a copy of this work the writer is indebted to Rev. Sabinus Mollitor, O. F. M., librarian at the friary in St. Louis, Mo.

¹³ June and July, 1923.

¹⁴ The article in this issue, entitled "Well, Who Did Discover the Mississippi," is almost entirely a reprint of the one which the same writer published in the now defunct *Messenger* (September, 1902, pp. 269-277), twenty-one years ago, under the title "Marquette and De Soto—Was Marquette a Discoverer?" This issue of the *Messenger* with Father Spaulding's discussion lay before the present writer when he wrote that series of articles on the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi River, which appeared recently in *The Western Catholic*.

quette, and not to Joliet. Though the latter was deputed by the government to undertake the expedition, it was from the Jesuit missionaries that the government "received by far the greater part of the information in regard to the Mississippi"; wherefore, the writer concluded, by implication at least, that Marquette was really the leader of the expedition to the great river, in 1673.

The line of argument followed in the latter contention will hardly convince the careful and critical reader. Whether the government obtained really "by far the greater part of the information in regard to the Mississippi" from the Jesuit missionaries, notwithstanding the extensive tours and frequent and at least oral reports made by the many fur-traders and voyageurs like Nicolet, Radisson and Groseilliers; and whether "none of this information came from Joliet"¹⁵ or was from personal experience possessed by Joliet who, according to Thwaites "appears to have spent much of his time for several years"¹⁶ in the regions of the upper Great Lakes . . . learning the numerous dialects of the Algonkins and their neighbors," who, to continue with Thwaites, "in both the Jesuit and official reports of the period . . . is always spoken of as a man of discretion, bravery, and unusual ability,"¹⁷ and "in the success of" whose voyage, as Father Dablon, S. J., writes, "nothing would have been left to be desired, if, after having passed through a thousand dangers, he had not unfortunately been wrecked in the very harbor . . . near Montreal,"¹⁸—it is hard to see what bearing all this has on the question at issue and how this question can be solved by referring to the source of information gathered regarding the Mississippi. The undeniable fact is, as Father Spalding himself put it, "Joliet was deputed by Frontenac to explore the vast regions of the West and to search for a large river of which wonderful accounts had reached Quebec. He went to decide upon the strategic and commercial value of the country. He went as a government official, a topographer, a surveyor. He was prepared by education and experience to fulfil the important trust committed to him. If he discovered the river he was to report what use could be made of it. Could forts be erected along its banks to act as a barrier to Further extension of the English colonies? Could the Indians be gained over so that the French would enjoy the exclusive trade in their rich pelts"?¹⁹ With these instructions Joliet was to

¹⁵ *The Queen's Work*, July, 1923, p. 192.

¹⁶ Apparently from the spring of 1669 to the fall of 1672.

¹⁷ Thwaites, Ruben G.: *Father Marquette*, p. 125.

¹⁸ *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites Edition), vol. 59, p. 89.

¹⁹ *The Queen's Work*, July, 1923, p. 179.

undertake the expedition, making "use of the information furnished by the missionaries"²⁰ and gathered by himself and other voyageurs. He was to stop at Mission San Ignace and take Father Marquette along, although the latter "had been only a few years on the mission," as Father Campbell, S. J., says, and "there were others among his associates who were apparently better qualified to accompany Joliet. . . . In the Providence of God they were set aside and the youngest and most inexperienced of all was chosen for the work."²¹ We must say, then, that the leader of the expedition in 1673 was Joliet, the man whom Frontenac in his *Memoir*²² characterized as having "experience in this kind of discovery" and having "already been near the great river, of which he promises to see the mouth," on which account he appointed him, as Talon had advised, to undertake the expedition.

This same opinion is held by E. D. Neill when he declares that Marquette "became his (Joliet's) companion, but had no official connection with the expedition, as erroneously mentioned by Charlevoix,"²³ the Jesuit historian of Canada. Similarly, when commenting on Father Dablon's reference to Joliet's appointment by the government, Thwaites says: "The wording of this passage (by Father Dablon) would indicate Joliet as the official leader of the expedition; but the authorities doubtless regarded Marquette as a valuable assistant to the enterprise, on account of his knowledge of the Indian tongues and the savage character, as well as of the information regarding the greater river which he had acquired while connected with the Ottawa missions."²⁴ John Gilmary Shea comes to the same conclusion when he comments on the above-mentioned words of Father Dablon.²⁵ Still more explicit is T. J. Campbell, S. J. Referring to Joliet's misadventure in the Lachine Rapids and the consequent doubt of the government as to his actually having been on the Mississippi River, Father Campbell writes: "It was, after all, the papers of Marquette which dispelled the doubts about the success of the expedition, and thus his name, and not Joliet's, is most frequently mentioned in connection with the great discovery,

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 179.

²¹ Campbell, T. J., S. J.: *Pioneer Priests of North America*, vol. iii, p. 167.

²² Quoted by J. G. Shea in his *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, Preface, p. 28.

²³ In Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of North America*, vol. iv, p. 178.

²⁴ *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites Edition), vol. 59, p. 307, note 15.

²⁵ See his *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 5.

though in reality Joliet was chief of the enterprise,"²⁶ Far be it from us to detract from the glory that surrounds the name of Father Marquette. His fame as a fearless explorer and saintly missionary is secure and well-merited. But whether it is historically correct to make him the leader of the 1673 expedition is a question that must be answered in the negative. After facing the recorded facts boldly, weighing them carefully, and presenting them clearly, accurately, and impartially, every historian will have to accept Father Campbell's verdict that "in reality Joliet was chief of the enterprise" in 1673.

Let us now turn to the other question and see whether the distinction of having discovered the Mississippi River belongs to the French expedition of 1673 rather than to one of the Spanish expeditions, 131, resp. 145, years before. As already indicated, Father Spalding discussed this question in the September, 1902, issue of the now defunct *Messenger* and republished the discussion in the June, 1923, issue of *The Queen's Work*.

In the course of thirty years (1513-1543), as we have seen, the Spaniards explored the entire coast of the Gulf of Mexico, traversed all our Gulf States from Florida and the Carolinas westward into Texas and Oklahoma, and gained definite knowledge of the existence and the course of the Mississippi River. Why, then, did Spain neglect to occupy the Mississippi region? Did she fail to realize the river's importance? Was its existence actually forgotten in the course of time? Obviously, on the answer to these questions hinges the answer to the one we are discussing, namely, whether or not we are justified in calling Joliet and Marquette the discoverers of the Mississippi.

By the time Spain obtained definite knowledge of the great river in La Florida, she had extended her sway far and wide over Mexico, Central and South America. These vast and rich territories, too, not less than La Florida, had now to be secured against French and English aggression and their resident natives won over both to Spanish rule and to Christianity and civilization. In this way it became absolutely necessary for Spain to call a halt in her policy of expansion and to intensify her activity in the New World by planting as many colonies as possible in the already acquired territories. It is easy to imagine what an enormous expense in men and money this involved. Hence, we find that, as regards the land lying north of the Gulf of Mexico, Spain's sole interest and energy, after the middle

²⁶ Campbell, T. J. S. J.: *Pioneer Priests of North America*, vol. iii, p. 180.

of the 16th century, was centered on the peninsula of Florida. With this comparatively small portion of the northern mainland colonized and its natives made loyal to the Spanish crown, not only the West Indies, but the entire Gulf region, including that of the Mississippi River, would be quite safe from foreign invasion and occupation. How long Spain would have continued this policy of intensive activity in the New World and, as a result, waited with the occupation and colonization of the Mississippi region, we have no way of determining. This much is certain, however, and all historians refer to it as a decisive factor in the shaping of Spain's New World policy after 1588. In that year, the reader will remember Spain suffered a great disaster in the defeat and complete destruction of the "Invincible Armada," which meant nothing less than the loss of her supremacy as a seapower. This alone suffices to explain why "by the end of the 16th century," as Ogg puts it, "the era of Ponce de Leon and Narvaez, of Coronado and De Soto, had passed,"²⁷ namely, the era of conquest and territorial expansion in what are now our southern border States. Spain was henceforth compelled to continue her policy of intensive rather than extensive activity also in these parts and for the time being content herself with the bare claim, by right of discovery, on the Mississippi region, postponing the work of its exploration and colonization until more favorable times or until foreign invasion should call for decisive action.

No one acquainted with the history of Spain in North America will accept the opinion that Spain failed to realize the importance of the Mississippi River and that in the course of time the river's existence and whereabouts had actually been forgotten. Passing over in silence the expedition of Tristan de Luna, in 1557, some of whose men may have reached the very banks of the Mississippi, there is ample reason for believing that the exploration and colonization of New Mexico, pursued so doggedly after 1598, included also the ultimate occupation of the Mississippi region. If the official instructions to Oñate and later governors of New Mexico did not mention this, it was but in accordance with Spain's policy of keeping the discovery and importance of the great river a secret. To publish it would have only whetted the appetite of France, already pushing westward through the Great Lakes region; and would thus have increased the difficulties, obstacles, and problems confronting the Spanish government in other parts of the New World. What Bourne says of the Spanish policy in general, applies also here; namely, that with the

²⁷ Ogg, Frederick, A.: *The Opening of the Mississippi*, p. 42.

accession of Philip II (1556) the government systematically endeavored "to prevent, so far as possible, the diffusion of knowledge in foreign countries of the wealth and resources of the king's possessions."²⁸

This policy of secrecy explains also why most maps and charts, published between 1540 and 1673, show the Mississippi as being a comparatively small river or as coursing westward and emptying into the Gulf of California. Thus, regarding Cabot's *mappemonde* of 1544, in Jomard, John Gilmary Shea remarks that this map "has always been supposed to be based on Spanish sources; but owing to the strict prohibition of publication in Spain, it was probably printed elsewhere,"²⁹ and, we may add, was consequently inaccurate in delineating the Mississippi. If all later maps are more or less faulty in this respect, it only goes to show how well Spain succeeded in keeping the river's whereabouts, length, and course a secret from the rest of Europe. Nevertheless, even these faulty maps must have given information regarding the great river to the Jesuit missionaries in the Great Lake region. In his *Relation* of 1673, sketching the Joliet expedition of that year, Father Dablon reports it as "certainly most probable that the river, which geographers trace, and call Saint Esprit, is the Mississippi, on which our French navigated."³⁰ In this connection we might refer also to the Campanius map. Though published as late as 1702, almost thirty years after Joliet's voyage of exploration, it still has the Mississippi River marked as a small stream. This goes to show that from the faulty maps and charts published between 1540 and 1673 a conclusive argument can hardly be drawn to prove that Spain had in the course of time forgotten about the Mississippi. Still weaker, in fact, quite beside the mark, is the argument *a pari*, drawn from a comparison between the discovery of the Mississippi by the Spaniards and the discovery of America by the Northmen. No one will maintain that the Mississippi was so generally and completely lost sight of as was the case with the alleged discovery by the Northmen. Spain possessed definite information regarding the great river and the rest of Europe so much as gradually leaked out despite Spain's policy to keep her information a secret. This is not true in the case of the Northmen, however, even granted that they touched on our Atlantic

²⁸ Bourne, E. G.: *Spain in America*, p. 246.

²⁹ See Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of North America*, vol. ii, p. 243.

³⁰ *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites Edition), vol. 58, p. 103.

shores almost half a millenium before Columbus. Assuredly, no historian will put down the Discovery of America by the Northmen as enjoying the same incontestable certainty as the discovery of the Mississippi by the Spaniards.

Spain not only knew of the existence of the Mississippi but also realized its importance. This is clear from the history of Texas. As previously stated, up to the middle of the 17th century the Spanish government was consistenly little interested in occupying and colonizing her Mississippi claim. But as soon as it became known, in 1678, that France had undertaken to explore the river and, advised by the perfidious ex-Governor Peñalosa of New Mexico, was planning to occupy its southern banks, the Spanish government immediately bestirred itself. It knew fully well that the occupation by France of the Mississippi with free passage into the Gulf of Mexico would endanger the Spanish possessions in Mexico, Florida, and the West Indies and prove a constant menace to her trade with these rich and flourishing colonies.

Considering all this and the definition of "to discover," it is hard to see how any one can reasonably deny the Spaniards the distinction of having discovered the Mississippi and ascribe it to the French expedition of 1673. Whether it was Cabéza De Vaca in 1528 or Hernando De Soto in 1541 who discovered, that is to say, obtained "for the first time sight or knowledge of" the Mississippi "as of a thing existing already, but not perceived or known," this question may still be a matter of just controversy. Not so, however, the fact that in either case the discovery of the river was the result of Spanish enterprise. At the same time, to be fair and accurate, we must say that it was the French expedition of 1673 which, under the leadership of Louis Joliet, undertook the first systematic exploration of the mighty stream known today by its Indian name as the Mississippi—the Great Water.

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OBSERVATIONS OF FATHER SPALDING

After noting Father Steck's learned article, rich with details of the Spanish explorations, Father Spalding writes:

We start out with different definitions of the word *discovery*. If Father Steck's definition is to be accepted literally, then the Sioux, the Dakotahs or some other of the Indian tribes discovered the Mississippi and the consideration of Marquette, De Soto and others is vain.

I prepared my article after long and careful study of the subject and have no changes to make. I think it quite proper that both articles be published. The reader will then have an opportunity to judge.

H. S. S.

NECROLOGY

HON. EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN.—Since the issuance of the last number of the *ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Hon. Edward Osgood Brown, former Justice of the Superior Court of Cook County and First Vice-President of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Society*, has been called to his reward. Judge Brown, himself a deep student of history and a rare scholar, was the first to take life membership in the Society and one of the most interested and valuable members. An appropriate sketch of his life and work will appear in a succeeding number.

WILLIAM F. RYAN.—William F. Ryan, whose sudden and untimely death occurred since the last number of the *REVIEW* was issued, was a member of the Board of Government of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Society*, a life member and a most proponent of the work of the Society. A future number will contain a sketch and memorial of our deceased co-worker.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS AGO

FATHER MARQUETTE'S JOURNAL

[For the authenticity of facts stated by the several writers reference may be had to Father Marquette's own letter describing the journey.]

The day of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, whom I had always invoked since I have been in this Ottawa country, to obtain of God the grace to be able to visit the nations on the river Mississippi, was identically that on which M. Jolliet arrived with orders of the Comte de Frontenac, our governor, and M. Talon, our intendent, to make this discovery with me. I was the more enraptured at this good news, as I saw my designs on the point of being accomplished, and myself in the happy necessity of exposing my life for the salvation of all these nations, and particularly for the Illinois who had, when I was at Lapointe du St. Esprit, very earnestly entreated me to carry the word of God to their country.

We were not long in preparing our outfit, although we were embarking on a voyage the duration of which we could not foresee. Indian corn, with some dried meat, was our whole stock of provisions. With this we set out in two bark canoes, M. Jolliet, myself, and five men, firmly resolved to do all and suffer all for so glorious an enterprise.

It was on the 17th of May, 1673, that we started from the mission of St. Ignatius at Michilimakinac, where I then was. Our joy at being chosen for this expedition roused our courage, and sweetened the labor of rowing from morning till night. As we were going to seek unknown countries, we took all possible precaution, that, if our enterprise was hazardous, it should not be foolhardy: for this reason we gathered all possible information from Indians who had frequented those parts, and even from their accounts traced a map of all the new country, marking down the rivers on which we were to sail, the names of the nations and places through which we were to pass, the course of the great river, and what direction we should take when we got to it.

Above all, I put our voyage under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, promising her, that if she did us the grace to discover the great river, I would give it the name of conception; and that I would also give that name to the first mission which I should establish among those new nations, as I have actually done among the Illinois.

With all these precautions, we made our padles play merrily over a part of Lake Huron and that of the Illinois into the Bay of the Fetid. (Green Bay.)

WILD OATS IN INDIANS

The first nation that we met was that of Wild Oats. I entered their river to visit them, as we have preached the gospel to these tribes some years past, so that there are many good Christians among them.

The wild oats, from which they take their name as they are found in their country, are a kind of grass which grows spontaneously in little rivers with slimy bottoms, and in marshy places; they are very like the wild oats that grow up among our wheat. The ears are on stalks knotted at intervals; they rise above the water about the month of June, and keep rising till they float about two feet above it. The grain is not thicker than our oats, but is as long again, so that the meal is much more abundant.

The following is the manner in which the Indians gather it and prepare it for eating. In the month of September, which is the proper time for this harvest, they go in canoes across these fields of wild oats, and sake the ears on their right and left into the canoe as they advance; the grain falls easily if it is ripe, and in a little while their provision is made. To clear it from the chaff, and strip it of a pellicle in which it is enclosed, they put it to dry in the smoke of a wooden lattice, under which they keep up a small fire for several days. When the oats are well dried, they put them in a skin of the form of a bag, which is then forced into a hole made on purpose in the ground; then they tread it out so long and so well, that the grain being freed from the chaff is easily winnowed; after which they pound it to reduce it to meal, or even unpounded, boil it in water seasoned with grease, and in this way, wild oats are almost as palatable as rice would be when not seasoned.

I informed the people of the Wild Oats of my design of going to discover distant nations to instruct them in the mysteries of our Holy Religion; they were very much surprised, and did their best to dissuade me. They told me, that I would meet nations that never spare strangers, but tomohawk them without any provocation; that the war which had broken out among various nations on our route, exposed us to another evident danger—that of being killed by the war-parties which are constantly in the field; that the Great River is very dangerous, unless the difficult parts are known; that it was full

of frightful monsters who swallowed up men and canoes together; that there is even a demon there who can be heard from afar, who stops the passage and engulfs all who dare approach; lastly, that the heat is so excessive in those countries, that it would infallibly cause our death.

I thanked them for their kind advice, but assured them that I could not follow it, as the salvation of souls was concerned; that for them, I should be too happy to lay down my life; that I made light of their pretended demon, that we would defend ourselves well enough against the river-monsters; and, besides, we should be on our guard to avoid the other dangers with which they threatened us. After having made them pray and given them some instructions, I left them, and, embarking in our canoes, we soon after reached the extremity of the Bay of the Fetid, where our Fathers labor successfully in the conversion of these tribes, having baptized more than two thousand since they have been there.

This bay bears a name which has not so bad a meaning in the Indian language, for they call it rather Salt Bay than Fetid Bay, although among them it is almost the same, and this is also the name which they give to the sea. This induced us to make very exact researches to discover whether there were not in these parts some salt springs, as there are among the Iroquois, but we could not find any. We accordingly concluded that the name has been given on account of the quantity of slime and mud there, constantly exhaling noisome vapors which cause the loudest and longest peals of thunder that I ever heard.

The bay is about thirty leagues long, and eight wide at its mouth; it narrows gradually to the extremity; where it is easy to remark the tide which has its regular flow and ebb, almost like that of the sea. This is not the place to examine whether they are real tides, whether they are caused by the winds, or by some other age; whether there are winds, outriders of the moon, or attached to her suite, who consequently agitate the lake and give it a kind of flow and ebb, whenever the moon rises above the horizon. What I can certainly aver is, that when the water is quite tranquil, you can easily see it rise and fall with the course of the moon, although I do not deny that this movement may be caused by distant winds, which pressing on the center of the lake, make it rise and fall on the shore in the way that meets our eyes.

ON THE FOX RIVER

We left this bay to enter a river emptying into it. It is very beautiful at its mouth, and flows gently; it is full of bustards, ducks, teal, and other birds, attracted by the wild oats of which they are very fond, but when you have advanced a little up the river, it becomes very difficult, both on account of the currents and of the sharp rocks which cut the canoes and the feet of those who are obliged to drag them, especially when the water is low. For all that we passed the rapids safely, and as we approached Maskoutens, the Fire nation, I had the curiosity to drink the mineral waters of the river which is not far from this town. I also took time to examine an herb, the virtue of which an Indian, who possessed the secret, had, with many ceremonies, made known to Father Alloues. Its root is useful against the bite of serpents, the Almighty having been pleased to give this remedy against a poison very common in the country. It is very hot, and has the taste of powder when crushed between the teeth. It must be chewed and put on the bite of the serpent. Snakes have such an antipathy to it, that they fly from one rubbed with it. It produces several stalks about a foot long, with pretty long leaves, and a white flower, much like the gillyflower. I put some into my canoe to examine it at leisure, while we kept on our way toward Maskoutens, where we arrived on the 7th of June.

THE MASKOUTEN INDIANS

Here we are then at Maskoutens. This word in Algonquin, means Fire nation, and that is the name given to them. This is the limit of the discoveries made by the French, for they have not yet passed beyond it.

This town is made up of three nations gathered here, Miamis, Maskoutens, and Kikabous. The first are more civil, liberal, and better made; they wear two long ear-locks, which give them a good appearance; they have the name of being warriors and seldom send out war parties in vain; they are very docile, listen quietly to what you tell them, and showed themselves so eager to hear Father Alloues when he was instructing them, that they gave him little rest, even at night. The Maskoutens and Kikabous are ruder and more like peasants, compared to the others.

As bark for cabins is rare in this country, they use rushes, which serve them for walls and roof, but which are no great shelter against the wind, and still less against the rain when it falls in torrents. The

advantage of this kind of cabins is that they can roll them up, and carry them easily where they like in hunting-time.

When I visited them, I was extremely consoled to see a beautiful cross planted in the midst of the town, adorned with several white skins, red belts, bows and arrows, which these good people had offered to the Great Manitou (such is the name they give to God) to thank him for having had pity on them during the winter, giving them plenty of game when they were in great dread of famine.

I felt no little pleasure in beholding the position of this town; the view is beautiful and very picturesque, for from the eminence on which it is perched, the eye discovers on every side prairies spreading away beyond its reach, interspersed with thickets or groves of lofty trees. The soil is very good, producing much corn; the Indians gather also quantities of plums and grapes, from which good wine could be made, if they chose.

No sooner had we arrived than M. Jolliet and I assembled the Sachems; he told them that he was sent by our governor to discover new countries, and I, by the Almighty, to illumine them with the light of the gospel; that the Sovereign Master of our lives wished to be known by all nations, and that to obey his will I did not fear death, to which I exposed myself in such dangerous voyages; that we needed two guides to put us on our way, these, making them a present, we begged them to grant us. This they did very civilly, and even proceeded to speak to us by a present, which was a mat to serve us as a bed on our voyage.

The next day, which was the tenth of June, two Miamis whom they had given us as guides, embarked with us, in the sight of a great crowd, who could wonder enough to see seven Frenchmen alone in two canoes, dare to undertake so strange and so hazardous an expedition.

We knew that there was, three leagues from Maskoutens, a river emptying into the Mississippi; we knew, too, that the point of the compass we were to hold to reach it, was the west-southwest; but the way is cut up by marshes and little lakes, that it is easy to go astray, especially as the river leading to it is so covered with wild oats, that you can hardly discover the channel. Hence, we had good need of our two guides, who led us safely to a portage of twenty-seven hundred paces, and helped us to transport our canoes to enter this river, after which they returned, leaving us alone in an unknown country, in the hands of Providence.

ON THE WISCONSIN RIVER

We now leave the waters which flow to Quebec, a distance of four or five hundred leagues, to follow those which will henceforth lead us into strange lands. Before embarking, we all began together a new devotion to the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, which we practiced every day, addressing her particular prayers to put under her protection both our persons and the success of our voyage. Then after having encouraged one another, we got into our canoes. The river on which we embarked is called Meskousing; it is very broad, with a sandy bottom, forming many shallows, which render navigation very difficult. It is full of vine-clad islets. On the banks appear fertile lands diversified with wood, prairie, and hill. Here you find oaks, walnut, whitewood, and another kind of tree with branches armed with long thorns. We saw no small game or fish, but deer and moose in considerable numbers.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

Our route was southwest, and after sailing about thirty leagues, we perceived a place which had all the appearance of an iron mine, and in fact, one of our party who had seen some before, averred that the one we had found was very good and very rich. It is covered with three feet of good earth, very near a chain of rock, whose base is covered with fine timber. After forty leagues on this same route, we reached the mouth of our river, and finding ourselves at $42\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north, we safely entered the Mississippi on the 17th of June, with a joy that I can not express.

Here then we are on this renowned river, of which I have endeavored to remark attentively all the peculiarities. The Mississippi River has its source in several lakes in the country of the nations to the north; it is narrow at the mouth of the Miskousing; its current, which runs south, is slow and gentle; on the right is a considerable chain of very high mountains, and on the left fine lands; it is in many places studded with islands. On sounding, we have found ten fathoms of water. Its breadth is very unequal; it is sometimes three-quarters of a league, and sometimes narrows in to three arpents (22 yards). We gently follow its course, which bears south and southeast till the forty-second degree. Here we perceive that the whole face is changed; there is now almost no wood or mountain, the islands are more beautiful and covered with finer trees; we see nothing but deer and moose, bustards and wingless swans, for they shed their

plumes in this country. From time to time we meet monstrous fish, one of which struck so violently against our canoe, that I took it for a large tree about to knock us to pieces. Another time we perceived on the water a monster with the head of a tiger, a pointed snout like a wild cat's, a beard and ears erect, a grayish head and neck all black. We saw no more of them. On casting our nets, we have taken sturgeon and a very extraordinary kind of fish; it resembles a trout with this difference, that it has a larger mouth, but smaller eyes and snout. Near the latter is a large bone, like a woman's busk, three fingers wide, and a cubit long; the end is circular and as wide as the hand. In leaping out of the water the weight of this often throws it back.

BUFFALO

Having descended as far as 41 degrees, 28 min., following the same direction, we find that turkeys have taken the place of game, and the pisikitus, or wild cattle, that of other beasts. We call them wild cattle, because they are like our domestic cattle; they are not longer, but almost as big again, and more corpulent; our men having killed one, three of us had considerable trouble in moving it. The head is very large, the forehead flat and a foot and a half broad between the horns, which are exactly like those of our cattle, except that they are black and much larger. Under the neck there is a kind of large crop hanging down, and on the back a pretty high hump. The whole head, the neck, and part of the shoulders, are covered with a great mane like a horse's; it is a crest a foot long, which renders them hideous, and falling over their eyes, prevents their seeing before them. The rest of the body is covered with a coarse surly hair like the wool of our sheep, but much stronger and thicker. It falls in summer, and the skin is then as soft as velvet. At this time the Indians employ the skins to make beautiful robes, which they paint of various colors; the flesh and fat of the Pisikious are excellent, and constitute the best dish in banquets. They are very fierce, and not a year passes without their killing some Indian. When attacked, they take a man with their horns, if they can, lift him up, and then dash him on the ground, trample on him, and kill him. When you fire at them from a distance with gun or bow, you must throw yourself on the ground as soon as you fire, and hide in the grass; for, if they perceive the one who fired, they rush on him and attack him. As their feet are large and rather short, they do not generally go very fast, except when they are irritated. They are scattered over the prairies like herds of cattle. I have seen a band of four hundred.

We advanced constantly, but as we did not know where we were going, having already made more than a hundred leagues without having discovered anything but beasts and birds, we kept well on our guard. Accordingly we make only a little fire on the shore at night to prepare our meal, and after supper keep as far off from it as possible far from the bank. Even this did not prevent one of us being always as a sentinel for fear of a surprise.

Proceeding south and south-west, we find ourselves at 41 degrees north; then 40 degrees and some minutes, partly by southeast and partly by southwest, after having advanced more than sixty leagues since entering the river, without discovering anything.

AT THE PEORIA INDIAN VILLAGE ON THE DES MOINES RIVER

At last, on the 25th of June, we perceived footprints of men by the water-side, and a beaten path entering a beautiful prairie. We stopped to examine it, and concluding that it was a path leading to some Indian village, we resolved to go and reconnoitre; we accordingly left our canoes in charge of our people, cautioning them strictly to beware of a surprise; then M. Jolliet and I undertook this rather hazardous discovery for two single men, who thus put themselves at the discretion of an unknown and barbarous people. We followed the little path in silence, and having advanced about two leagues, we discovered a village on the banks of the river, and two others on a hill, half a league from the former. Then, indeed, we recommended ourselves to God, with all our hearts; and, having implored his help, we passed on undiscovered, and came so near that we even heard the Indians talking. We then deemed it time to announce ourselves, as we did by a cry, which we raised with all our strength, and then halted without advancing any further. At this cry the Indians rushed out of their cabins, and having probably recognized us as French, especially seeing a black gown, or at least having no reason to distrust us, seeing we were but two, and had made known our coming, they deputed four old men to come and speak with us. Two carried tobacco-pipes well adorned, and trimmed with many kinds of feathers. They marched slowly, lifting their pipes toward the sun, as if offering them to him to smoke, but yet without uttering a single word. They were a long time coming the little way from the village to us. Having reached us at last, they stopped to consider us attentively. I now took courage, seeing these ceremonies, which are used by them only with friends, and still more on seeing them covered with stuffs, which made me judge them to be

allies. I, therefore, spoke to them first, and asked them who they were; they answered that they were Illinois and, in token of peace, they presented their pipes to smoke. Then they invited us to their village where all the tribe awaited us with impatience. These pipes for smoking are called in the country calumets, a word that is so much in use, that I shall be obliged to employ it in order to be understood, as I shall have to speak it frequently.

At the door of the cabin in which we were to be received, was an old man awaiting us in a very remarkable posture; which is their usual ceremony in receiving strangers. This man was standing, perfectly naked, with his hands stretched out and raised toward the sun, as if he wished to screen himself from its rays, which nevertheless passed through his fingers to his face. When we came near him he paid us this compliment; "How beautiful is the sun, O Frenchmen, when thou comest to visit us. All our town awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace." He then took us into his, where there was a crowd of people, who devoured us with their eyes, but kept profound silence. We heard, however, these words occasionally addressed to us: "Well done, brothers, to visit us."

As soon as we had taken our places, they showed us the usual civility of the country, which is to present the calumet. You must not refuse it, unless you would pass for an enemy, or at least for being impolite. It is, however, enough to pretend to smoke. While all the men smoked after us to honor us, some came to invite us on behalf of the great sachem of all the Illinois to proceed to his town, where he wished to hold a council with us. We went with a good retinue, for all the people who had never seen a Frenchman among them could not tire looking at us; they threw themselves on the grass by the wayside, they ran ahead, then turned and walked back to see us again. All this was done without noise, and with marks of a great respect entertained for us.

THE MEETING DESCRIBED BY LONGFELLOW IN "HIAWATHA"

Having arrived at the great sachem's town, we espied him at his cabin-door, between two old men, all three standing naked, with their calumet turned to the sun. He harangued us in few words, to congratulate us on our arrival, and then presented us his calumet and made us smoke; at the same time we entered his cabin, when we received all their usual greetings. Seeing all assembled and in silence, I spoke to them by four presents which I made: by the first, I said that we marched in peace to visit the nations on the river to the sea;

by the second, I declared to them that God their Creator had pity on them, since, after their having been so long ignorant of him, he wished to become known to all nations; that I was sent on His behalf with this design; that it was for them to acknowledge and obey Him; by the third, that the great chief of the French informed them that he spread peace everywhere, and had overcome the Iroquois. Lastly, by the fourth, we begged them to give us all the information they had of the sea, and of the nations through which we should have to pass to reach it.

When I had finished my speech, the sachem rose, and laying his hands on the head of a little slave, whom he was about to give us, spoke thus: "I thank thee, Blackgown, and thee, Frenchman," addressing M. Jollyinget, "for taking so much pains to come and visit us; never has the earth been so beautiful, nor the sun so bright, as today; never has our river been so calm, nor so free from rocks, which your canoes have removed as they passed; nor has our tobacco had so fine a flavor, nor our corn appeared so beautiful as we behold it today. Here is my son, that I give thee, that thou mayst know my heart. I pray thee take pity on me and all my nations. Thou knowest the Great Spirit who has made us all; thou speakest to him and hearest his word; ask him to give me life and health, and come and dwell with us, that we may know him." Saying this, he placed the little slave near us, and made us a second present, an all-mysterious calumet, which they value more than a slave; by this present he showed us his esteem for our governor, after the account we had given him; by the third, he begged us, on behalf of his whole nation, not to proceed further, on account of the great dangers to which we exposed ourselves.

I replied, that I did not fear death, and that I esteemed no happiness greater than that of losing my life for the glory of Him who made all. But these poor people could not understand.

The council was followed by a great feast which consisted of four courses, which we had to take with all their ways; the first course was a great wooden dish full of Sagamity, that is to say, of Indian meal boiled in water and seasoned with grease. The master of ceremonies, with a spoonful of sagamity, presented it three or four times to my mouth, as we would do with a little child; he did the same to M. Jollyinget. For the second course, he brought in a second dish containing three fish; he took some pains to remove the bones, and having blown upon it to cool it, put it in my mouth, as we would food to a bird; for the third course, they produced a large dog, which they had just killed, but learning that we did not eat it, it was withdrawn.

Finally, the fourth course was a piece of wild ox, the fattest portions of which were put into our mouths.

After this feast we had to visit the whole village, which consists of full three hundred cabins. While we marched through the streets, an orator was constantly haranguing to oblige all to see us without being troublesome; we were everywhere presented with belts, garters, and other articles made of the hair of the bear and wild cattle, dyed red, yellow, and gray. These are their rareties; but not being of consequence, we did not burden ourselves with them.

We slept in the sachem's cabin, and the next day took leave of him, promising to pass back through his town in four moons. He escorted us to our canoes with nearly six hundred persons, who saw us embark, evincing in every possible way the pleasure our visit had given them. On taking leave, I personally promised that I would return the next year to stay with them, and instruct them. But before leaving the Illinois country, it will be well to relate what I remarked of their customs and manners.

THE ILLINOIS INDIANS

To say Illinois is, in their language, to say "the men," as if other Indians compared to them were mere beasts. And it must be admitted that they have an air of humanity that we had not remarked in the other nations that we had seen on the way. The short stay I made with them did not permit me to acquire all the information I would have desired. The following is what I have remarked in their manners. They are divided into several villages, some of which are quite distant from that of which I speak, and which is called Peouarea. This produces a diversity in their language which in general has a great affinity to the Algonquin, so that we easily understood one another. They are mild and tractable in their disposition, as we experienced in the reception they gave us. They have many wives, of whom they are extremely jealous; they watch them carefully, and cut off their nose or ears when they do not behave well; I saw several who bore the marks of their infidelity. They are well formed, nimble, and very adroit in using the bow and arrow; they use guns also, which they buy of our Indian allies who trade with the French; they use them especially to terrify their enemies by the noise and smoke, the others lying too far to the west, have never seen them, and do not know their use. They are war-like and formidable to distant nations in the south and west, where they go to carry off slaves, whom they make an article of trade, selling them at a high price to other nations for goods.

The distant nations against whom they go to war, have no knowledge of Europeans; they are acquainted with neither iron or copper, and have nothing but stone knives. When the Illinois set out on a war party, the whole village is notified by a loud cry made at the door of their huts the morning and evening before they set out. The chiefs are distinguished from the soldiers by their wearing a scarf ingeniously made of the hair of bears and wild oxen. The face is painted with red lead or ochre, which is found in great quantities a few days' journey from the village. They live by game, which is abundant in this country, and on Indian corn, of which they always gather a good crop, so that they have never suffered by famine. They also sow beans and melons, which are excellent, especially those with a red seed. Their squashes are not the best; they dry them in the sun, to eat in the winter and spring.

Their cabins are very large; they are lined and floored with rush-mats. They make all their dishes of wood, and their spoons of the bones of the buffalo, which they cut so well, that it serves them to eat their sagamity easily.

They are liberal in their maladies, and believe that the medicines given them operate in proportion to the presents they have made the medicineman. Their only clothes are skins; their women are always dressed very modestly and decently, while the men do not take any pains to cover themselves. Through what superstition I know not, some Illinois, as well as some Nadouessi, while yet young, assume the female dress, and keep it all their life. There is some mystery about it, for they never marry, and glory in debasing themselves to do all that is done by women; yet they go to war, though allowed to use only a club, and not the bow and arrow, the peculiar arm of men; they are present at all the juggleries and solemn dances in honor of the calumet; they are permitted to sing, but not to dance; they attend the councils, and nothing can be decided without their advice; finally, by the profession of an extraordinary life, they pass for manitous (that is, for genii), or persons of consequence.

THE CALUMET, A PIPE

It now only remains for me to speak of the calumet, than which there is nothing among them more mysterious or more esteemed. Men do not pay to the crowns and sceptres of kings the honor they pay to it; it seems to be the god of peace and war, the arbiter of life and death. Carry it about you and show it, and you can march fearlessly amid enemies, who even in the heat of battle lay down their arms

when it is shown. Hence the Illinois gave me one, to serve as my safeguard amid all the nations that I had to pass on my voyage. There is a calumet for peace, and one for war, distinguished only by the color of the feathers with which they are adorned, red being the sign of war. They use them also for settling disputes, strengthening alliances and speaking to strangers.

It is made of polished red stone, like marble, so pierced that one end serves to hold the tobacco, while the other is fastened on the stem, which is a stick two feet long, as thick as a common cane, and pierced in the middle; it is ornamented with the head and neck of different birds of beautiful plumage; they also add large feathers of red, green, and other colors, with which it is all covered. They esteem it particularly because they regard it as the calumet of the sun; and in fact, they present it to him to smoke when they wish to obtain calm, or rain, or fair weather. They scruple to bathe at the beginning of summer, or to eat new fruits, till they have danced it. They do it thus:

THE DANCE OF THE CALUMET

The calumet dance which is very famous among these Indians, is performed only for important matters, sometimes to strengthen a peace or to assemble for some great war; at other times for a public rejoicing; sometimes they do this honor to a nation who is invited to be present; sometimes they use it to receive some important personage, as if they wished to give him the entertainment of a ball or comedy. In winter the ceremony is performed in a cabin, in summer in the open fields. They select a place, surrounded with trees, so as to be sheltered beneath their foliage against the heat of the sun. In the middle of the space they spread out a large party-colored mat of rushes; this serves as a carpet, on which to place with honor the god of the one who gives the dance; for every one has his own god, or manitou, as they call it, which is a snake, a bird, or something of the kind, which they have dreamed in their sleep, and in which they put all their trust for the success of their wars, fishing, and hunts. Near this manitou and at its right, they put the calumet in honor of which the feast is given, making around about it a kind of trophy, spreading there the arms used by the warriors of these tribes, namely, the war-club, bow, hatchet, quiver, and arrows.

Things being thus arranged, and the hour for dancing having arrived, those who are to sing take the most honorable place under the foliage. They are the men and women who have the finest voices, and who accord perfectly. The spectators then come and take their

places around under the branches; but each one on arriving must salute the manitou, which he does by inhaling the smoke and then puffing it from his mouth upon it, as if offering incense. Each one goes first and takes the calumet respectfully, and supporting it with both hands, makes it dance in cadence, suiting himself to the air of the song; he makes it go through various figures, sometimes showing it to the whole assembly by turning it from side to side.

After this, he who is to begin the dance appears in the midst of the assembly, and goes first; sometimes he presents it to the sun, as if he wished it to smoke; sometimes he inclines it towards the earth; and at other times he spreads its wings as if for it to fly; at other times, he approaches it to the mouths of the spectators for them to smoke, the whole in cadence. This is the first scene of the ballet.

The second consists in a combat, to the sound of a kind of drum, which succeeds the songs, or rather joins them, harmonizing quite well. The dancer beckons to some brave to come and take the arms on the mat, and challenges him to fight to the sound of the drums; the other approaches, takes his bow and arrow, and begins a duel against the dancer who has no defence but the calumet. This spectacle is very pleasing, especially as it is always done in time, for one attacks, the other defends; one strikes, the other parries; one flies, the other pursues, then he who fled faces and puts his enemy to flight. This is all done so well with measured steps, and the regular sound of voices and drums, that it might pass for a very pretty opening of a ballet in France.

The third scene consists of a speech delivered by the holder of the calumet, for the combat being ended without bloodshed, he relates the battles he was in, the victories he has gained; he names the nations, the places, the captives he has taken, and as a reward, he who presides at the dance presents him with a beautiful beaver robe, or something else, which he receives, and then he presents the calumet to another, who hands it to a third, and so to all the rest, till all having done their duty, the presiding chief presents the calumet itself to the nation invited to this ceremony in token of the eternal peace which shall reign between the two tribes.

The following is one of the songs which they are accustomed to sing; they give it a certain expression, not easily represented by notes, yet in this all its grace consists:

“Ninahani, ninahani, ninahani,
Naniongo.”

We take our leave of our Illinois about the end of June, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and embark in sight of all the tribe, who admire our little canoes, having never seen the like.

We descend, following the course of the river, toward another called Pekitanoui, which empties into the Mississippi, coming from the northwest, of which I have something considerable to say, after I have related what I have remarked of this river.

Passing by some pretty high rocks which line the river, I perceived a plant which seemed to me very remarkable. Its root is like small turnips linked together by little fibres, which had the taste of carrots. From this root springs a leaf as wide as the hand, half of a finger thick with spots in the middle; from this leaf spring other leaves like the sockets of chandeliers in our saloons. Each leaf bears five or six bell-shaped yellow flowers. We found abundance of mulberries, as large as the French, and a small fruit which we took at first for olives, but it had the taste of an orange, and another as large as a hen's egg; we broke it in half and found two separations, in each of which were encased eight or ten seed shaped like an almond, which are quite good when ripe. The tree which bears them has, however, a very bad smell, and its leaf resembles that of a walnut. There are also in the prairies, fruit, resembling our filberts, but more tender; the leaves are larger, and spring from a stalk crowned at the top with a head like a sunflower, in which all those nuts are neatly arranged; they are very good cooked raw.

THE PAINTED MONSTERS OPPOSITE ALTON

As we coasted along rocks frightful for their height and length, we saw two monsters painted on one side of these rocks, which startled us at first, and on which the boldest Indian dare not gaze long. They are as large as a calf, with horns on the head like a deer, a fearful look, red eyes, bearded like a tiger, the face somewhat like a man's, the body covered with scales, and the tail so long that it twice makes the turn of the body, passing over the head and down between the legs, and ending at last in a fish's tail. Green, red, and a kind of black, are the colors employed. On the whole, these two monsters are so well painted, that we could not believe any Indian to have been the designer, as good painters in France would find it hard to do as well; besides this, they are so high upon the rock that it is hard to get conveniently at them to paint them. This is pretty nearly the figure of these monsters, as N drew it off. (Drawing on margin of original letter.)

THE MISSOURI RIVER

As we were discoursing of them, sailing gently down a beautiful, still, clear water, we heard the noise of a rapid into which we were about to fall. I have seen nothing more frightful; a mass of large trees, entire, with branches, real floating islands, came rushing from the mouth of the river Pekitanoui, so impetuously, that we could not, without danger, expose ourselves to pass across. The agitation was so great that the water was all muddy and could not get clear.

Pekitanoui is a considerable river which coming from very far in the northwest, empties into the Mississippi. Many Indian towns are ranged along this river, and I hope, by its means, to make the discovery of the Red, or California sea.

We judged by the direction the Mississippi takes, that if it keeps on the same course it has its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico; it would be very advantageous to find that which leads to the South sea, toward California and this, as I said, I hope to find by Pekitanoui, following the account which the Indians have given me; for from them I learn that advancing up this river for five or six days, you come to a beautiful prairie twenty or thirty leagues long, which you must cross to the northwest. It terminated at another little river on which you can embark, it not being difficult to transport canoes over so beautiful a country as that prairie. This second river runs southwest for ten or fifteen leagues, after which it enters a small lake, which is the source of another deep river, running to the west where it empties into the sea. I have hardly any doubt that this is the Red sea, and I do not despair of one day making the discovery, if God does me the favor and grants me health, in order to be able to publish the *pospel* to all the nations of this new world who have so long been plunged in heathen darkness.

Let us resume our route after having escaped as best we could, the dangerous rapid caused by the obstacle of which I have spoken.

THE OHIO RIVER FORMERLY CALLED THE OUBAKA-WABASH

After having made about twenty leagues due south, and a little less to the southeast, we came to a river called Ouaboukigou, the mouth of which is 36 degrees north. Before we arrived there, we passed by a place dreaded by the Indians, because they think that there is a *manitou* there, that is, a demon who devours all who pass, and of this it was, that they had spoken, when they wished to deter us from our enterprise. The devil is this—a small bay, full of rock, some twenty feet high, where the whole current of the river is whirled; hurled back

against that which follows, and checked by a neighboring island, the mass of water is forced through a narrow channel; all of this is not done without a furious combat of the waters tumbling over each other, nor without a great roaring, which strikes terror into Indians who fear everything. It did not prevent our passing and reaching Sabokigo. This river comes from the country on the east, inhabited by the people called Chaouanons, in such numbers that they reckon as many as twenty-three villages in one district, and fifteen in another, lying quite near each other; they are by no means warlike, and are the people the Iroquois go far to seek in order to wage an unprovoked war upon them; and, as these poor people can not defend themselves, they allow themselves to be taken and carried off like sheep, and innocent as they are, do not fail to experience, at times, the barbarity of the Iroquois, who burn them cruelly.

A little above this river of which I have just spoken, are cliffs where our men perceived an iron mine, which they deemed very rich; there are many veins, and a bed a foot thick. Large masses are found combined with pebbles. There is also there a kind of unctuous earth of three colors, purple, violet, and red, the water in which it is washed becomes blood-red. There is also a very heavy, red sand; I put some on a paddle, and it took the color so well, that the water did not afface it for fifteen days that I used it in rowing.

Here we began to see canes, or large reeds on the banks of the river; they are of a very beautiful green; all the knots are crowned with long narrow, pointed leaves; they are very high, and so thick-set, that the wild cattle find it difficult to make their way through them.

• LEGIONS OF MOSQUITOES

Up to the present time we had not been troubled by mosquitoes, but we now, as it were, entered their country. Let me tell you what the Indians of these parts do to defend themselves against them. They raise a scaffolding, the floor of which is made of simple poles, and consequently a mere grate-work to give passage to the smoke of a fire which they build beneath. This drives off the little animals, as they can not bear it. The Indians sleep on the poles, having pieces of bark stretched above them to keep off the rain. This scaffolding shelters them, too, from the excessive and insupportable heat of the country; for they lie in the shade in the lower story, and are thus sheltered from the rays of the sun, enjoy the cool air which passes freely through the scaffold.

With the same view we were obliged to make on the water a kind of cabin with our sails, to shelter ourselves from the mosquitoes and the sun. While thus borne on at the will of the current, we perceived on the shore Indians armed with guns, with which they awaited us. I first presented my feathered calumet, while my comrades stood to arms, ready to fire on the first volley of the Indians. I hailed them in Huron, but they answered me by a word, which seemed to us a declaration of war. They were, however, as much frightened as ourselves, and what we took for a signal of war, was an invitation to come near, that they might give us food; we accordingly landed and entered their cabins, where they presented us wild-beef and bear's oil, with white plums, which are excellent. They have guns, axes, hoes, knives, beads, and double glass bottles in which they keep the powder. They wear their hair long and mark their bodies in the Iroquois fashion; the head-dress and clothing of their women were like those of the Huron squaws.

FRIENDLY INDIANS

They assured us that it was not more than ten days' journey to the sea; that they bought stuffs and other articles of Europeans on the eastern side; that these Europeans had rosaries and pictures; that they played on instruments; that some were like me, who received them well. I did not, however, see any one who seemed to have received any instructions in the faith; such as I could, I gave them with some medals.

HOSTILE INDIANS

This news roused our courage and made us take up our paddles with renewed ardor. We advanced then, and now begin to see less prairie land, because both sides of the river are lined with lofty woods. The cotton-wood, elm and white-wood, are of admirable height and size. The numbers of wild cattle we heard bellowing, made us believe the prairies near. We also saw quails on the water's edge, and killed a little parrot with half the head red, the rest, with the neck, yellow, and the body green. We had now descended to near 33 degrees north, having almost always gone south, when on the water's edge we perceived a village called Mitchigamea. We had recourse to our patroness and guide, the Blessed Virgin Immaculate; and, indeed, we needed her aid, for we heard from afar the Indians exciting one another to the combat by continued yells. They were armed with bows, arrows, axes, war-clubs, and buckles, and prepared to attack

us by land and water; some embarked in large wooden canoes, a part to ascend, the rest to descend the river, so as to cut off our way, and surround us completely. Those on shore kept going and coming, as if to begin the attack. In fact, some young men sprang into the water to come and seize my canoe, but the current having compelled them to return to the shore, one of them threw his war-club at us, but it passed over our heads without doing us any harm. In vain I showed the calumet, and made gestures to explain that we had not come as enemies. The alarm continued, and they were about to pierce us from all sides with their arrows, when God suddenly touched the hearts of the old men on the water-side, doubtless at the sight of our calumet, which at a distance they had not distinctly recognized; but as I showed it continually, they were touched, restrained the ardor of their youth, and two of the chiefs having thrown their bows and quivers into our canoe, and as it were, at our feet, entered and brought us to the shore, where we disembarked, not without fear on our part. We had at first to speak by signs, for not one understood a word of the six languages I knew; at last an old man was found who spoke a little Illinois.

We showed them our presents, that we were going to the sea; they perfectly understood our meaning, but I know not whether they understood what I told them of God, and the things which concerned their salvation. It is a seed cast in the earth which will bear its fruits in season. We got no answer, except that we would learn all we desired at another great village called Akamsea, only eight or ten leagues farther down the river. They presented us with sagamity and fish, and we spent the night among them, not, however, without some uneasiness.

AT THE ARKANSAS

We embarked next morning with our interpreter, preceded by ten Indians in a canoe. Having arrived about half a league from Akamsea (Arkansas), we saw two canoes coming toward us. The commander was standing up holding in his hand the calumet, with which he made signs according to the custom of the country; he approached us, singing quite agreeably, and invited us to smoke, after which he presented us some sagamity and bread made of Indian corn, of which we ate a little. He now took the lead, making us signs to follow slowly. Meanwhile, they had prepared us a place under the war-chief's scaffold; it was neat and carpeted with fine rush mats, on which they made us sit down, having around us immediately the

sachems, then the braves, and last of all, the people in crowds. We fortunately found among them a young man who understood Illinois much better than the interpreter whom we had brought from Mitchigamea. By means of him I first spoke to the assembly by the ordinary presents; they admired what I told them of God, and the mysteries of our holy faith, and showed a great desire to keep me with them to instruct them.

We then asked them what they knew of the sea; they replied that we were ten days' journey from it (we could have made this distance in five days.; that they did not know the nations who inhabited it, because their enemies prevented their commerce with those Europeans; that the hatchets, knives, and beads, which we saw, were sold them, partly by the nations to the east, and partly by an Illinois town four days' journey to the west; that the Indians with fire-arms whom we had met, were their enemies who cut off their passage to the sea, and prevented their making the acquaintance of the Europeans, or having any commerce with them; that, besides, we should expose ourselves greatly by passing on, in consequence of the continual war-parties that their enemies sent out on the river; since being armed and used to war, we could not, without evident danger, advance on that river which they constantly occupy.

During this converse, they kept continually bringing us in wooden dishes of sagamity, Indian corn whole, or pieces of dog-flesh; the whole day was spent in feasting.

These Indians are very courteous and liberal of what they have, but they are very poorly off for food, not daring to go and hunt the wild-cattle, for fear of their enemies. It is true, they have Indian corn in abundance, which they sow at all seasons; we saw some ripe; more just sprouting, and more just in the ear, so that they sow three crops a year. They cook it in large earthen pots, which are very well made; they have also plates of baked earth, which they employ for various purposes; the men go naked, and wear their hair short; they have the nose and ears pierced, and beads hanging from them. The women are dressed in wretched skins; they braid their hair in two plaits, which falls behind their ears; they have no ornaments to decorate their persons. Their banquets are without any ceremonies; they serve their meats in large dishes, and every one eats as much as he pleases, and they give the rest to one another. Their language is extremely difficult, and with all my efforts, I could not succeed in pronouncing some words. Their cabins, which are long and wide, are made of bark; they sleep at the two extremities, which are raised

about two feet from the ground. They keep their corn in large baskets, made of cane, or in gourds, as large as half barrels. They do not know what a beaver is; their riches consist in the hides of wild cattle. They never see snow, and know the winter only by the rain which falls oftener than in summer. We eat no fruit there but watermelons. If they knew how to cultivate their ground, they might have plenty of all kinds.

In the evening the sachems held a secret council on the design of some to kill us for plunder, but the chief broke up all these schemes, and sending for us, danced the calumet in our presence, in the manner I have described above, as a mark of perfect assurance; and then, to remove all fears, presented it to me.

RETURNING HOME

M. Jolliet and I held another council to deliberate on what we should do, whether we should push on, or rest satisfied with the discovery that we had made. After having attentively considered that we were not far from the gulf of Mexico, the basin of which is 31 degrees 40 minutes north, and we at 33 degrees 40 minutes, so that we could not be more than two or three days' journey off; that the Mississippi undoubtedly had its mouth in Florida or the Gulf of Mexico, and not on the east, in Virginia, whose seacoast is at 34 degrees north, which we had passed, without having as yet reached the sea, nor on the western side in California, because that would require a west, or west-southwest course, and we had always been going south. We considered, moreover, that we risked losing the fruit of this voyage, of which we could give no information, if we should throw ourselves into the hands of the Spaniards, who would undoubtedly, at least, hold us prisoners. Besides, it was clear, that we were not in a condition to resist the Indians allied to the European, numerous and expert in the use of fire-arms, who continually infested the lower part of the river. Lastly, we had gathered all the information that could be desired from the expedition. All these reasons induced us to resolve to return; this we announced to the Indians, and after a day's rest, prepared for it.

IN ILLINOIS—PEORIA AND KASKASKIA, NOW UTICA

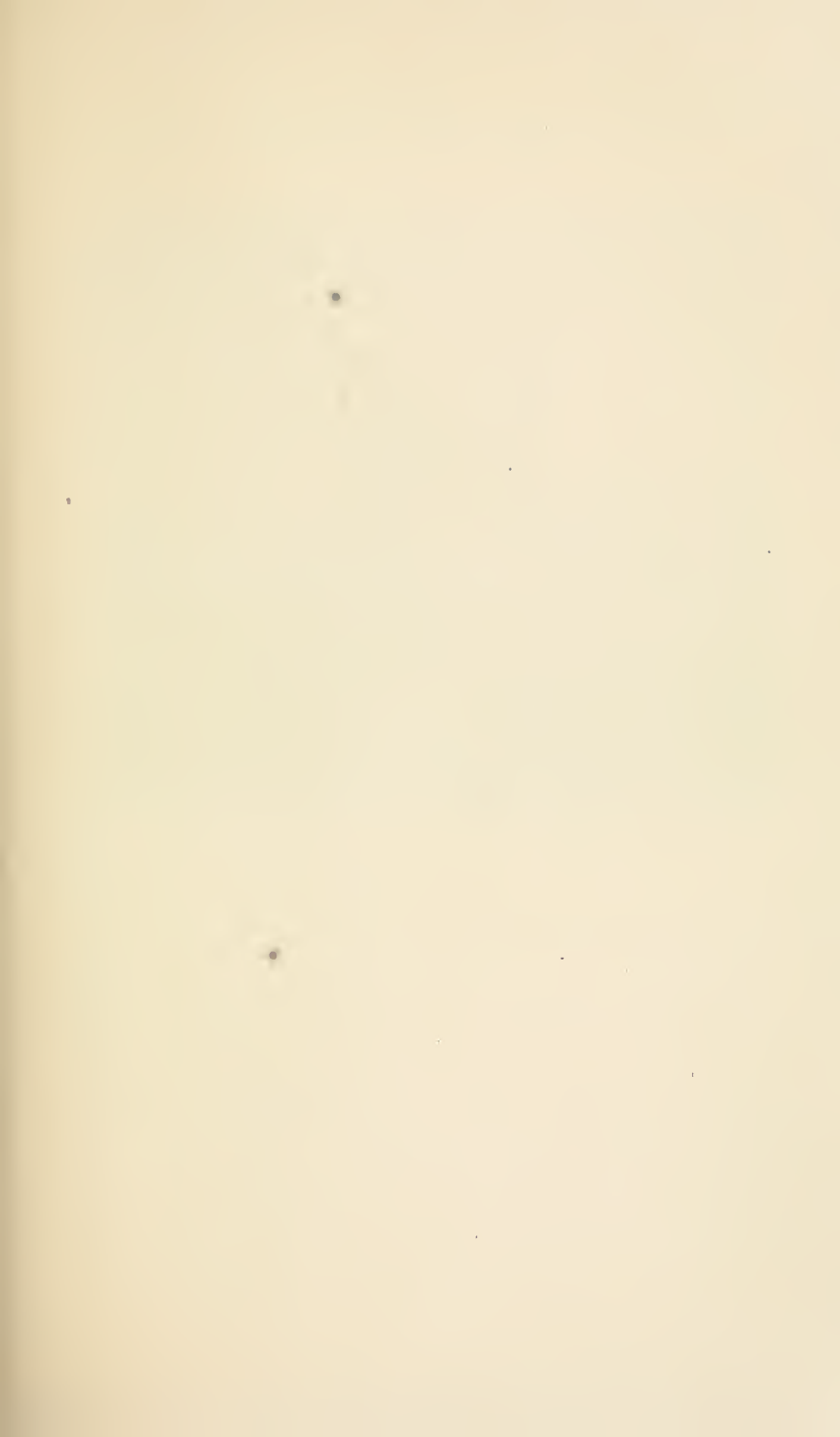
After a month's navigation down the Mississippi, from the 42d to below the 34th degree, and after having published the gospel as well as I could to the nations I had met, we left the village of Akamsea on the 17th of July, to retrace our steps. We accordingly ascended the

Missisipi, which gave us great trouble to stem its current. We left it, indeed, about the 38th degree, to enter another river, which greatly shortened our way, and brought us, with little trouble, to the lake of the Illinois.

We had seen nothing like this river for the fertility of the land, its prairies, woods, wild cattle, stag, deer, wild-cats, bustards, swans, ducks, parrots, and even beaver; its many little lakes and rivers. That on which we sailed, is broad, deep, and gentle for sixty-five leagues. During the spring and part of the summer, the only portage is half a league.

We found there an Illinois town called Kaskaskia, composed of seventy-four cabins; they received us well, and compelled me to promise to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs of this tribe with his young men, escorted us to the Illinois lake, whence at last we returned in the close of September to the bay of the Fetid, whence we had set out in the beginning of June.

Had all this voyage caused but the salvation of a single soul, I should deem all my fatigue well repaid, and this I have reason to think, for, when I was returning, I passed by the Indians of Peoria. I was three days announcing the faith in all their cabins, after which as we were embarking, they brought me on the water's edge a dying child which I baptized a little before it expired, by an admirable Providence for the salvation of that innocent soul. (From Thwaite's *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. 59.)





THE MEMORIAL CROSS

Marking the passage of Father Marquette and Louis Jolliet down the Chicago River in August, 1673, and also the site of the cabin in which Father Marquette and his two companions dwelt during the winter of 1674-75. This cross is located at what is now the junction of Robey Street and the Drainage Canal, Chicago. (From a painting by Cameron, by courtesy of Charles W. Kallal, City Architect of Chicago.)

JAMES MARQUETTE, THE SOLDIER OF THE CROSS

As a part of the observance of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Marquette and Jolliet's voyage of discovery on the Mississippi in 1673, a pageant was arranged under the direction of Mr. Peter L. Menen of Burlington, Iowa. Under his direction a canoe, a supposed replica of that used by the first white voyagers, was constructed and Mr. Bruce E. Mahan, representing Father Marquette and Mr. C. W. Bond, representing Louis Jolliet on June 17th, 1923, paddled the craft from the Wisconsin River at Prairie du Chien into the Mississippi and thence down stream, following the route of the early explorers, but stopping at the various modern cities, where impromptu or set programs were rendered. The present-day voyagers reached Burlington, Iowa, on the 26th of June and there a formal welcome and set program in the way of a pageant was enacted, at the conclusion of which Rev. Christopher J. Kohne, S. J., delivered the following address:

Almost nineteen hundred years ago the crime of crimes was enacted in a far off land. A babe, whose birthplace was a manger, whose youth was spent in simple obedience to a foster-parent and a virgin Mother, whose manhood was wearied in toiling for others, whose one thought was of them and of His Father in heaven, whose great heart burned with love for men and yearned to bring them untold blessings, this Babe of Bethlehem, grown to Manhood, was rewarded by a deathbed harder than the crib of His birth, the infamous gibbet of the criminal's cross.

Almost two hundred and fifty years ago, a man scarce older than the rejected Savior, a man impelled by similar motives of love for his fellow-men, whose model and inspiration was Calvary's Christ, died on the shores of an inland sea, was buried in a sandy knoll, overlooking the farstretching lake and a cross, which was once a sign of shame, marked his last resting place.

But the Cross was no longer a sign of shame, but a sign most honorable, most revered, as once most hated and accursed. Sanctified by the Master's death, hallowed by the Savior's Blood, shed not for His own but His brethrens' sins, that Cross recalls the fearful price of our ransom from exile and slavery, and hence will always be the badge of sacrifice, the badge of God's love for men, the flag of God's companions, the standard of soldiers loyal to Him Who was

loyal to us. From every vantage point of earth it gleams, telling its story of loving sacrifice, teaching its silent lesson of self-denial, beckoning always to its followers, pointing the way the Master trod, marking the road that leads us home.

A cross marked the place of his burial, because it had been the inspiration of his life. It was love of the Cross that caused him, when scarce seventeen, to enroll his name in the Master's Bodyguard. It was the study of the Cross that occupied him in his twelve years of preparation for such a soldier's life. It was zeal for the Cross that tore him from friends and home and fatherland in fair Laon, and drove him, all eager for the fray, across the sea to far-off shores and frozen climes to tell the story of that Cross to savage tribes.

The Cross is the greatest conqueror the world has known. Has it not softened hearts as savage as any that beat in red-men's breasts and caused proud, self-indulgent paganism to fling down its gods, those grim, hateful, lustful demons that stood for all that is low and vile and animal in man? Did not the Cross plant love, humility and self-denial where hate and pride and self-indulgence had reigned supreme? Was it not the Cross that inspired the noblest deeds of men in the home, in government, in charity and even war? Was it not the Cross, worn on breast and carried before the mail-clad ranks, that set Europe's chivalry in motion toward Calvary's hill, sacred because drenched with the Master's Blood, which trickled down in countless streams from what had been a sign of shame, but was now worn in royal diadems, and became the battle-flag of civilization and Christendom? Stronger than armies is that Cross, for oft, when borne aloft by lonely soldier of that Christ, nations unconquerable by clash of steel, or crush of arms, or cannons' roar, bent their proud necks beneath its yoke, glad to be its vassals. Oh what deeds of heroism that Cross has inspired, not only on battlefield and on the arena's bloody sands, but in the silent struggles that ever go on in the hearts of men! What conquests over self it has won, what sacrifices it has caused!

On Quebec's crag we see it gleam, in wilderness that ne'er had echoed to white man's cry; it is the Black Robe's calumet, and, on sight of it, the wild storm of passion in the savage breast is quelled, as was the troubled sea of Genesareth at the Master's voice; and stoic lips part in prayer and eyes, that shone with vengeful hate, glisten with the furtive, unbidden tear. Only when men, who should be loyal, poisoned with greedy lust for gold, inspire the savage heart with hate of it, as high-priests did on Golgotha, does it fall from unnerved martyr's hands and is drenched with blood again. Yes,

but before the martyr's blood is dry, the fallen standard is clasped once more, and, raised on high, it conquers still.

So his brother soldiers fell, Brebeuf, Lallemant, Jogues, when, young and eager for the fray of God, Marquette stepped forth and bore that standard to unknown lands. A soldier? Yes! His sword the cross, his armor the grace of God, his cause God's glory, his aim, to spread Christ's Kingdom through those trackless wastes and teach the lesson of Calvary's Cross. Nobler motive no man ever had, greater good to man no one could do. To far Superior's frozen shores that motive led him, and when the seeds of love were sown and others came to sow still more, and reap, that burning zeal for God and love for souls impelled him ever onward to do and dare still more.

With bold Jolliet and five others, in frail canoes, he threads his way whither Indians said a mighty river plowed its course, vast and dangerous as a swirling sea, dashing lands of fertile beauty and tribes powerful and savage. Lust of gold and greed of power might lead Europe's nations to wrestle there in grim war, but earth's riches he sought not, souls dear to God and ransomed by the Blood of Christ, though ignorant of this deed of love divine, these were his quest.

Loyalty to principle, steadfastness in the performance of duty, these were his virtues and these are virtues true; and our land cries for them today as sun-scorched fields cry for the rain of heaven. And as each yellowing stalk, each limp leaf is a mute appeal for moisture, so from lips of children in divorce-wrecked homes, from honest laborer, from honest business-man, from far-seeing statesmen and educators comes that cry—loyalty to God, loyalty to His ten commands, practice His golden rule, or a drouth, that kills the very soul and dries up every noble inspiration in the heart of man, will lay its withering hand on this fair land until only the sharp thistles of clutching greed and its parasite, lust, can grow.

Yes, steadfast and loyal was he. No whispered dangers from astounded savage lips at his bold venture could stop him, no fatigue too great, no privations strong enough to slay the resolve in his noble breast. Was his cross more bitter than the Master's? Did he not see that Leader far in advance beckoning him onward? Did he not hear from afar the sigh of souls hungry for the Bread of Life? Souls for Christ, no cross is too heavy in such a quest. Lead, Master, and I will follow Thee whilst I have strength. Up the St. Francis, through reedy Winnebago Lake, through the marshy, hidden stretchers of what is now the Fox, thence across marsh and sands and forest-land their burdens were carried, until the stream, to which he gave the name, the swift Wisconsin, lay before him.

Was this the river of Indian rumors? Its wooded shores were silent. Surely, somewhere on its beauteous banks a red man's village will tell him. On they swept o'er its swift current without signs of human life, when lo! At sunset, one June evening, they glided out upon a moving sea, and the Mississippi was discovered. Should they turn back and bring the tidings to France's anxious ruler at Quebec? The Cross was the answer—and the hunger for souls drew him onward. The river bore them on its broad bosom, past wooded bluffs and fertile plains, farther and farther from friends, to unknown dangers and unknown peoples. His annals tell us of his journey, of his reception by the red-man on these shores, of their joy at his message from Christ and from Mary, of his far descent past the turbid Missouri's roaring mouth to southern lands, and the arduous return.

From this journey of two thousand eight hundred miles Marquette never recovered. All next summer, weak and broken, he lay at the distant mission of St. Francis Xavier, dreaming ever, yearning always for those countless souls hungry for the word of God. Could he ever keep his promise to return and dwell among them? The summer waned—October came, winter was at hand. A slight respite from suffering, and Christ's soldier was up and doing. Snow and ice could not deter him, until, aided by his sickness, winter held him fast in a lonely, wind-swept hut, in what is now the mid-west's largest city. But Holy Week found him among his quest. Five hundred chieftains and their warriors, fifteen hundred strong, listened breathlessly to the wondrous tale of love, that came from lips thin and trembling with weakness, but poured forth from a heart full of pent-up love for God and man.

His work was done. The weary soldier had fought his fight. Carry him home, ye faithful two, companions of his labors. Carry him home, hundreds of miles away; home to receive a brother soldier's parting blessing; home to tell those fellow soldiers of a peoples' yearning for Christ and heaven. Yes, James Marquette, you shall go home. Not to the rude hut and log chapel your toil-worn hands aided in building, but to the home prepared for you by the Master you served so well. On a lonely sand dune, pointed out by you, near the river that bears your name, there for a while your weary bones shall rest. We see you still, O noble man, gazing with glazing eyes o'er Michigan's mighty flood toward these distant hills and the river gliding below. We see the hunger and yearning in your eyes. Yes, watch in your waning hour the flickering flame of faith your

dying breath has kindled. Peaceful be your rest, for others, inspired by your example, will come to fan it into a roaring fire.

The Cross was his banner, his life was another cross, and on the Cross he gazed with dying eyes. Then raising his eyes above the Crucifix, his gaze fixed in intense rapture, he smiles,—and a true soldier died. Why that rapture, gentle courageous soul? Was it the Master calling thee from the Calvary you had climbed for him? Did He show you the vision of the future at that final hour?—cities fair, where forests stood, and empty plains,—temples cross-crowned, like those of home in Laon of far-off France—priests and nuns and faithful, throning the sacred fanes and hymns soaring aloft, where in that early dawn the only sound was nature's cry and the wierd chant of plumed brave? Was it tonight you saw, and yesterday, and tomorrow, when all along the mighty stream, which your eyes discovered in its silent grandeur, your name rings out o'er the rolling flood, as grateful admiring posterity with one voice cries—"James Marquette, Benefactor, Explorer, Soldier of Christ, Lover of Men, True Knight of the Cross!"

He died, but his work lives. He pointed the way, others followed. He planted the seed, others sowed still more and reaped. He lived in the early dawn, we in the noon-day. His memory inspired and his presence has blessed the shores on which he landed. And why? Because of the glorious example he has set. Because he sacrificed all, even life itself, to the duties of his calling; because he obeyed the voice of conscience rather than that of self-interest; because his life was modeled on the life of mankind's greatest Teacher and Lover, Jesus Christ.

A notable procession, two years after Marquette's death, with savage stateliness and reverence carried the bones of their loved Black Robe many stormy miles over the wind-swept lake to lay them in the midst of those for whom he toiled and suffered and prayed, in far-off Mackinac.

How oft have greed and selfishness undone the work of God! How oft the trader's greed for gold robs such heroes as Marquette of years of hard-won gain for God and man! How oft have savages learned the vices of hell from men, who claimed civilization as their blessing and Christianity as their Creed,—but whose true religion was gold and self! And this hard, senseless god of gold has turned reasoning men into ravenous beasts of vice and blood more blameworthy and lower than Moloch's servers of old. How oft have men, in their passion for gold, caused war to raise its crested head and poured into that rapacious maw far more than all the gold of earth

can buy? What bleaching bones, what ruined empires dot the face of earth to teach mankind the greed, the lust, the murderous hate of gold, that swallows its followers and leaves such festering scars and wounds to grieve and pain posterity! What families torn by fratricidal strife glare at us from History's page and the daily press, because of this greedy service of hard-hearted gold! And yet today, man's success and his worth to his fellow men is often measured by the weight and size and number of the golden ikons of his golden god that lie in his grasping, greedy palm or in his guarded coffers. If this be so, why are we here today to honor him whose only riches were breviary, a battered cross and a tattered robe of black? Ah, but in that emaciated, gaunt frame there beat a heart that poured upon his fellow-man a golden flood of love, drawn in turn from that Heart of hearts that burst with love for men.

The teaching of Christ is not "with gold you shall purchase eternal life," but with the Cross, with sacrifice, with good done to men. "Take up thy cross and follow me." "Amen, Amen I say unto you, when you did it to the least of these my brethren, you did it to Me." Thus is lasting success and peace achieved. Self-sacrifice, forgetfulness of self, love of God and man have built this empire whose noon-day we enjoy. Marquette came in the dim light of breaking dawn. Imbued with a spirit, a daring, a love of sacrifice akin to his, the pioneers came in the full light of morning and built what you and I enjoy. Will the evening be as pleasant and as fair? It will if you and others look back at those whose time is passed, who sowed where now you reap; if you look back at him, who, two hundred and fifty years ago, from out in yonder river, scanned these hills in quest of souls to give them all that God had given him, and lead them all to God Himself; a noble man, with soul uplifted to his Master, with mind fixed on duty, with heart beating for his fellow man, seeking not gold but heaven and, therefore, serving no fleeting thing of dust, but a God omnipotent, loving, generous, wise, eternal.

Are our souls lifted up to God, or crave they only the things of earth? Are we tending the flame Marquette has lit, or by narrow love of self and meanness toward our fellowmen quenching its holy light? Let Capital and Labor both pay heed. Let husbands and wives ask themselves that question. Let sons and daughters compare their ideals with his, whose glory we acclaim. Sacrifice is the cornerstone of patriotism, of loyalty to God, and country, of observance of law and order, of family happiness. Take it away and you suffer, the family suffers, and, therefore, the State suffers, and God's King-

dom loses and Christ's blood is shed in vain, and ruin lurks in the background with eager eyes and muscles taut for the final, crushing leap.

A noble man with mind fixed on duty was James Marquette. Duty is a sacred word. It should be the motive of all our actions, duty to God and man. Duty begets justice and justice peace and order, and without peace and order there is no true happiness. Today duty is a word oft forgotten, oft misused. Independence is on every lip, independence of law, if it thwarts self, independence of every curb placed by nature or man or God. Such was not the independence our forefathers dreamed of, such was not their concept of liberty. Liberty is the right to do whatever the law permits because without law there can be no liberty. Without law each man becomes a law unto himself, to do, or leave undone, whatever selfish self dictates. And so we have as many states as men, and our boasted Constitution is no more, the ties of union are severed, "a kingdom divided against itself shall fall."

Each cup of pleasure on this earth of ours has its tear of sorrow, each crown its pricking thorn, each joy its cross. If we bear our sorrow with joy, our thorn without complaint, our cross with a smile, for love of Him, Who carried a whole crown of thorns for us, and a whole world's sorrow and a whole world's Cross, and if we help our neighbor carry his burden, as Christ carried ours, then have we learned a lesson of love, of duty, of sacrifice, from that noble man, that true knight of the Cross, James Marquette. And the blessing which he invoked upon the red-men of these parts will likewise descend on us:

"Peace be with you and your people,
Peace of prayer and peace of pardon,
Peace of Christ and joy of Mary."

REV. CHRISTOPHER J. KOHNE, S. J.

*Loyola University,
Chicago, Illinois*

Marquette's Successors. A very remarkable book was published in Chicago this year which is, in a sense, a memorial of Father Marquette and will take its place as a very important contribution to the literature of the Marquette anniversaries. The book is entitled **Holy Family Parish, Priests and People**, and details the record of the Jesuit foundation in Chicago, dating from 1857. In a Prologue the Marquette story is briefly but clearly told. It is pointed out that Father Marquette's cabin residence in 1674-5 was within the original boundaries of Holy Family Parish and that his was the first church in the parish and he was the first pastor. The founder of the parish, the renowned Father Arnold Damen, S.J., and all his co-laborers were the sons of the same Order as Marquette and took up the labors he laid down in this region. The book is not only a notable souvenir and memorial of Marquette and a valuable contribution to general history but at the same time the most remarkable survey of parish work ever published.

An Unusual Number. Readers will be surprised somewhat, no doubt by the form of this number of the **Illinois Catholic Historical Review**. It differs radically from former issues in that it is devoted exclusively to Marquette and Jolliet and thir lives and labors. The reason for this lies of course in the appropriateness of such a publication to mark the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the most important journey of these two devoted men to this region. It is the anniversary of the beginning of history in this great and important part of the world. These two men above all others who ever saw the Mississippi, the Illinois, the site of Chicago, deserve first place in our memory, in our history and in our esteem, public and private. This work is issued with the hope of helping to gain all that for them. It will provide, besides, a concrete presentation of numerous facts, which, by reason of the virtual inaccessibility of authentic source material, have in the minds of many rested upon vague and distorted references. There is less of our own work in this than in any previous issue of the **Review**, but since we found the story so well told by others who cannot be accused of bias as we might be we preferred to use their productions. In passing it should be noted that while the present year, 1923 has been interesting as marking the 250th anniversary of Marquette's first visit, the two coming years are at least equally notable anniversaries. The year 1924 will mark the 250th anniversary of Marquette's residence as the first white man in the Mississippi Valley and especially in what is now Chicago, and the year 1925 will be the 250th anniversary of the Crurch in mid-America. While as appears in this publication something, not nearly enough, has been done to mark this year, much more should be done in 1924 and 1925. The people of Illinois should refuse to be satisfied with anything less than a permanent memorial of Marquette and the residents of Chicago should demand due honor to its first resident, while the Church, all denominations should celebrate universally the establishment of christianity in this vast domain.

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JANUARY-APRIL, 1924

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THE CAHOKIA MISSION PROPERTY

(Continued from January-April Number, 1923)

THE MISSION PLANTATION

In 1718 Reverend Dominic Anthony Thaumur de la Source and Reverend John le Mercier were sent to take charge of the Mission of the Tamarois at Cahokia, and Father de la Source remained in the mission until 1728. Soon after their arrival these two missionaries secured a grant of land for their residence.

The grant to the Fathers of the Foreign Missions, being amongst the very earliest grants of Illinois property, is very interesting and is here reproduced in full:

LAND GRANT TO THE SEMINARY OF THE FOREIGN MISSIONS

“Antoine de la Motte Cadillac, Governor of the Province of Louisiana and Jean Baptiste Duclou, Esquire, Sieur de Montigny, Councillor of the King, commissioner of Marine, Manager in the said Province:

Upon the request made to us by the Reverend Priests, Missionaries of this Colony, requesting us to grant unto them the concession of a piece of land situate in the Island of ‘Duaphine’ containing eight arpents (acres) on the front of the Marsh to the North, bounded to the East by Jean Robert, to the West by . . . and extending to the South to the seaside (probably mistranslated. More likely “riverside), for the purpose of building a residence.

We, in virtue of the powers given to Us by His Majesty, have hereby granted, and do hereby grant, have conceded and do hereby concede unto the Reverend Missionaries, the herein before piece of land, to have and to hold the same unto them their heirs and assigns in absolute property without hindrance, and to use and dispose of the same as they may think proper, subject to the condition of improving,

enhancing it within two next consecutive years, if not and in default of doing so, the said lot of land shall be surrendered to the domain of His Majesty, who shall have the power of disposing of the same as if the present Concession had never taken place, and subject to the payment of the seigniorial dues and duties if any are established hereafter in the said province of Louisiana. We reserving nevertheless for His Majesty the permission of taking on the said land all and every the timber required for His Majesty's fortifications, stores and other works that His Majesty, has ordered or may hereafter order to be constructed for His service in this country even for the repairs and keels of his vessels, every and each time they may require it, and also the necessary land for the erection of fortifications.

In faith whereof we have signed these presents which shall be registered in the record office of the Superior Council, of the said Province within two months from this date.

Granted at the Fort of Louisiana this sixteenth day of December Seventeen hundred and fifteen.¹²

(Signed) "DUCLOS" sealed the said day.

(Signed) "LAMOTH CADILLAC"

(L. S.)

Emegistered in the registers of the Superior Council of Louisiana, by us the undersigned Chief Clerk of the said council the seventeenth day of December seventeen hundred & fifteen.

(Signed) "RAGUET" with his paraph.

Father Bergier's death left the mission without a pastor, and considerable time elapsed before a new pastor was appointed. The Jesuits in the meantime continued their activities and the Gentlemen of the Seminary, as the Fathers of the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Quebec were popularly called, fearing perhaps that the Jesuits might supplant them, applied to the bishop for further authority, which was granted in a letter, as follows:

"We John by the Grace of God and of the Holy Apostolical See Bishop of Quebec in New France:

To all to whom the present Letters shall Come send Greeting and blessing in our Lord.

Although by our Letters Patent bearing date the fourteenth day of July 1698, we have granted to the Superior and Directors of the Seminary of Foreign Missions of Quebec, a special power to send Missionaries among the Indian tribes of Tamarois, and to make such residences, settlements and missions that they will find suitable, seeing that the Country inhabited by the said Tamarois Indian is, as one would say, the key and the necessary passage to penetrate among the

¹² This document, copy of which is found in the diocesan archives of Belleville, Illinois, is of course very vague but the Fathers were already in possession and the lands could thus be identified.

tribes that are further in the interior and to facilitate the access to those same tribes. However, the reverend Mr. Varlet, Vicar General and Missionary of the Tamarois Indians, having made representations to Us to the effect that before his arrival in the said Mission, a considerable delay having elapsed without the Quebec Seminary being able to send some missionaries to take the place of the reverend Mr. Bergier, who had died there while labouring for the conversion of the said Indians, it might be feared that some one might perhaps consider Our Letters Patent dated the 14 July, 1698, as one would say, superannuated and that Missionaries of some other order might feel inclined to contest the possession of the said Missions by the said Seminary, he has in consequence begged of Us to grant unto him New Letters Patent confirmatory of those of the hereinbefore cited month and year.

We being willing to favour the zeal of the said Seminary for the conversion of the infidels, taking into consideration the remonstrances that have been made to Us by the said Reverend Mr. Varlet, have and do hereby authorize the said Superior and Directors of the said Missions at the Tamarois hereby confirming those Letters Patent issued the 14th July 1698 as well also as those bearing date the first day of May of the same year 1698, whereby we granted to the said Superior and Directors a full power to settle themselves and institute missions among the Indian tribes living on both sides of the River Mississippi and along the shores of the said river, its tributaries, confirming moreover the contents of the said Letters and hereby revoking all other letters and powers that we might have granted to others if any such Letters are found contrary to these presents. Hereby reserving to ourselves the power when the said Missionaries of the Foreign Missions of Quebec abandon the said country to give the said mission of the Tamarois to whom we may think proper in order that the souls of the inhabitants do not remain abandoned.

Given at Quebec under Our hand, and that of Our Secretary, sealed with our Seal at Arms this sixth day of October seventeen hundred and seventeen.

(Signed) JOHN BISHOP of Quebec
and under by the reverend Armand and sealed with his
seal at Arms.

Compared on the original written on paper by the undersigned Notary Royal in the prevostship of Quebec to him exhibited and immediately returned with these presents at Quebec this nineteenth day of October eighteen hundred and seventeen.

(Signed) "DuBREUIL & his paraph.

"Michael Bigon, Knight & Signor of Picardie Merbelin and other places, Councillor of the King in His Councils and in the Parliament of Metz, High Steward (Intendant) of Justice, police and finances in New France, do certify to all whom these presents appertain that DuBreuil who has collated the above document is a Notary Royal in the Town and Prevostship of Quebec, that full faith is given to the deeds collated and compared by him, in testimony whereof we have

signed these presents and thereto attached our seal at Arms and caused the same to be countersigned by one of Our Secretaries in Our Palace at Quebec this nineteenth day of October one thousand seven hundred and seventeen.¹³

	(Signed)	BIGON
(L. S)	and under by my lord	
	(Signed)	BARBET."

THE FOUR LEAGUES SQUARE GRANT

The Fathers now petitioned the government for a large tract of land for use as a plantation in connection with the mission establishment, and had the good fortune to have the petition promptly granted.

The grant and the record thereof, which are the foundation of the claim to the large property, which was to make history, especially in land transactions, were as follows:

We Pierre Dugue de Boisbriant Knight of the military order of St. Lewis, first Lieutenant of the King in the province of Louisiana, Commandant at the Illinois and Marc Antoine de la Loire des Ursins, principal manager of the Royal Company of the Indies at the said place.

On the request of the reverend Missionaries of the Kahokias and Tamarois praying for a grant of four square leagues of land in fee simple (*en franc aleu*) with the adjacent Islands, commencing at one fourth of a league above the little river of the Cahokias situate above the Indian Village and Comming back towards the fort of Chartres, following the course and along the Mississippi running in depth.

We, in consequence of Our Powers, The said land has been granted to the Reverend Gentlemen Missionaries of the Kahokias and of the Tamarois in fee simple (*franc Aleu*) on which land they may from this moment commence to clear and cultivate the land and sow on the same while waiting for the regular Concession that shall be sent from France by the General Directors of the Royal Company of the Indies at the Fort Chartres this twenty second day of June seventeen hundred and twenty two.

(Signed)	BOISBRIANT
"	DES URSINS"

We the undersigned, do hereby certify that this copy of the deed of Concession conforms to the original. At the Tamarois this 21st day of May 1732.

(Signed)	THAMURE P. PRITHUIS."
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¹³ Entire document (copy) in the diocesan archives of Belleville.

EXTRACT FROM THE REGISTERS OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF THE ILLINOIS

"In the year seventeen hundred and twenty two the twenty second day of June, granted unto the Reverend Missionaries of the Cahokias and Tamarois, four square leagues of land in fee simple (en franc aleu) with the adjacent Islands commencing in ascending the Mississippi one quarter of a league above the small river of the Cahokias situate below the village of the Indians and coming back and following the course and along the River Mississippi towards the Fort of Chartres running in depth towards the North East quarter North.

(Signed) BOISBRIANT
" DES URSINS

The above has been taken from and has been collated by the undersigned Notary from the records of the Provincial Council of the Illinois being in the record office at the said place Aux Cas this fourteenth day of May seventeen hundred & Forty three.

(Signed) BARVIS his paraph.

We the undersigned do hereby certify that the above abstract is a true copy of the record which is in the possession of Mtre Barrois, Notary of the lands which have been conceded by the late Mr. de Boisbriant and Des Ursins, Commandant and Councillor in the Provincial Council of the Country. In testimony whereof we have signed these presents this seventeenth day of May seventeen hundred and forty three.

(Signed) ECHE DE PARLEA DEVAION HAMON¹⁴
Acting Judge at the Illinois."

In 1728 Father De la Source returned to Canada, and Rev. Joseph Courrier and Rev. Joseph Gaston were sent on to the Tamarois mission. Father Gaston was killed by Indians soon after reaching the Tamarois, another martyr to the Faith, but Father Courrier labored at the post for several years, and was regarded as a man of extraordinary sanctity. Broken in health he went to New Orleans for medical treatment, and died among the Capuchin Fathers in the fall of 1753.

Father Mercier, who came in 1718 and remained through all the changes was now alone in the mission, with the exception of Abbe Joseph Gagnon, of whose coming we have no specific information, but who at this date was aged and infirm.

From a letter written by Father Mercier to the French governor we learn of the state of the plantation. Father Mercier's letter is as follows:

¹⁴ Diocesan Archives of Belleville.

FROM MERCIER, PRIEST, SUPERIOR V. G.,
TO
THE MARQUIS DE VADREUIL.

April 20, 1743.

I have the honor of writing you this second letter about the land which was given to our mission of the Kaokias or Tamaroas, by Monsieur De Bois, Lieutenant of the King in Louisiana, then commanding in Illinois and Des Ursins, acting as Director of the Royal Company of India, of which gift, I have the honor, sir, to send you herewith a copy made by the Notary of the Illinois. It was because of this concession of the Kaokias in 1731 we bought from the savages the land on which we wished to place any inhabitants who came there. (This grant has 30 acres facing the river bank which passes behind the village of the French and the Kaokias, and is about 10 acres deep.) We gave every one free land. After that we had a water mill built which, for the work alone cost us 4000 francs. There was a lack of water soon after that and we had to have a windmill built which cost us 1000 ecus. (Our mill run by horse power was sufficient for the harvest.) The grain which we get from the mill is not sufficient to pay the miller who was engaged for 4000 pounds of flour per year and to buy the cloth for the mill, which is very dear in this country, and to keep up the repairs which must be made from time to time to said mill.

Last year we only had seventy-five minote of grain. Besides that, Monsieur, we had a bridge built over a little river which is less than half a league from here, so that there might be better communication between the two prairies, which are within the four leagues given to our Mission. Also, Monsieur, we have been obliged to give a considerable amount to the savages so that they will keep at a distance and thus avoid the quarrels which often come up when they are too near the French villages. More than half of these savages have retired to a distance of about three and a half leagues from here (where we have prepared as much ground for them as they needed). They have promised to cultivate this ground, but they have so often failed to keep their promises that we cannot count on them any more for this than for the rest. Our superiors belonging to the Seminary of Foreign Missions of Paris and Quebec, expect us to account to you for the money which we have spent, and which we would not have spent had it not been for the gift of the mission to us. We hope that you will ratify, out of the justice and kindness of your heart, this gift, so that we will not have to worry about this as we were obliged to a few months ago.

I have the honor to be, with my very respectful esteem and consideration, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) MERCIER, Priest, Sup. V. G.¹⁵

¹⁵ Ibid.

GOVERNOR VAUDREUIL ANSWERS

A courteous answer was sent by the governor as follows:

“At New Orleans this 14th August 1743, Copy of a letter written to the Reverend Mr. Mercier by Monsieur de Vaudreuil, Governor of Louisiana.

I have received Sir, the letters that you have honored me with bearing date on the 19th, 20th, & 30th May and first June last.

I am very sensitive to the courteous compliments that you were kind enough to pay me and the interest you take in my accession to the government. Please Sir, receive my thanks, remain convinced that you shall find on my person the same desire to please you that you have found in Mr. de Bienville and that I shall take opportunity of every occasion that may present itself to render you any service within my control.

I would have desired to diminish this year to a great extent the quantities of brandies that are generally sent to the Illinois, but the unfortunate tolerance that has been practiced up to this day with the necessity there exists of importing some quantities as Messieurs de Bienville & Salmon have made me understand, has kept me from taking certain measures, which shall surely be put to execution during the coming years. Mr. de Bertel is right to be as severe as possible so that no liquor shall be given to the Indians.

Concerning the ratification of the Concession granted to you during the time of the Company by M. de Boisbriant et des Ursins, you have requested me to obtain for you. We are writing a joint letter to the Count de Maurepas, to get him to procure it for you. There is nothing in my power, no influence that I do not desire to make use of in order to oblige your Reverend Superiors of the Foreign Missions that I left in Paris enjoying perfect health.

With regard to the piece of land you have bought from the Indians in 1731, I do not think you can appropriate it because the sale not being valid you cannot have a title to the place. As for the encroachment that the named Lievre & Capucin wish to make on your land, we Mr. de Salmon and myself have both written to M. M. Bertel and Laloire on this subject. I had given orders, dear Sir, for the shipment of your goods, but I have since learnt that nothing has come from France for you.

I have the honor to be most respectfully, Sir,

Your most humble & obedient servant,

(Signed) VAUDREUIL,¹⁶

¹⁶ Ibid.

The following extract from the letter referred to by Governor de Vaudreuil is interesting:

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN IN COMMON BY M. M. DE VAUDREUIL AND SALMON TO M. M. BERTEL AND SALONE (LALOIRE)
IN AUGUST 1743.

“With regard to the four leagues of land that have been granted during the time of the Company of the Indies to the Priests of the Foreign Missions we have verified by their titles that it is a grant in fee simple (*en franc alevu simple*) and not a *fief noble* as you have remarqued it yourself, that they are the masters of the land, they can enjoy it themselves, or dispose of it by gift or by sale, by lease or subject to a ground rent, but they cannot draw from the land seigniorial dues as the Seigneur of a *fief* might do.

Our attention has been called by a letter from the Reverend M. Mercier priest of the Foreign Missions, that they possess a piece of land, that they pretend to have purchased from the Indians in 1731. The title to this property does not seem well established. However since they are in possession they may be left so. Mr. Mercier says also that having assigned a portion of the same to one LaSource, it has come into the hands of parties named Lievre and Capucin who have wished to increase the extent of their land. As those individuals or others, at their example,—might make encroachments on this land and as it is not desirable that any person should be troubled in what he possesses, you shall oblige us very much by informing us in what this land consists, how much has been paid to the Indians, of what utility it is to the missionaries and if in years to come it might be of any use to the inhabitants when that part of the country is better settled.¹⁷

SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS

For twenty years now the mission with its houses, barns and mills goes on, and apparently flourishes, but history is in the making.

In Europe an anti-Christian spirit arises, which directs its efforts against the great religious organization known as the Company of Jesus, Portugal, France, and Spain, through their Godless ministers, have conducted such an effective campaign against the Jesuits that one after another these European countries outlawed the company and its members.

An equally Godless ministry at New Orleans eagerly follows in the footsteps of the home government of France, and declares the Jesuits anathemae. Agents of the government are sent to the Illinois country to arrest the Jesuits, and sell and destroy their property. The judgment of the council is executed with much brutality, and

¹⁷ Ibid.

Abbe Forget du Verger, now the pastor at Cahokia, looking on assumes that he will be the next victim of this anti-Christian frenzy, takes time by the forelock, sells the Cahokia mission property, and departs for France.

Many references have been made to this alienation of the property and lands of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, and accordingly the actual documents, by means of which the transfer was effected, will be interesting. The deed made by Father Forget du Verger reads as follows:

SALE BY REVEREND FORGET DU VERGER TO J. B. LAGRANGE

“Before the undersigned Notary Royal, at the Illinois and in presence of the undersigned witnesses.

Personally came and appeared the reverend François Forget du Verger, Priest missionary of the Foreign missions, Vicar General of His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec, residing at the Parish of the Holy Family of the Cahokias at the Illinois, acting for and in the name of the Reverend Superior of the Foreign Missions of Paris, who in the said name, has by these presents, acknowledged and confessed to have this day sold, transferred, acquitted, assigned and made over henceforth and forever and promises to warrant against all troubles, debts, dowers, mortgages, evictions, substitutions and other hindrances generally whatsoever to Mr. Jean Baptiste Lagrange, merchant, trader, residing at the Illinois, hereunto present, stipulating and accepting for himself, his heirs and assigns that is to say: A house built of stone, comprising several rooms and also several other buildings such as barns, stables, cattle, sheds, huts, mills and generally all the buildings attached to the said house and also the land attached thereto divided in a yard, garden, orchard planted with fruit trees, which said land contains about three hundred and fifty feet in width by nine hundred in depth, the whole situated in the Parish of the Holy Family of the Caokias and also a water power mill for grinding wheat, and a saw mill, with all its utensils and machinery, situate on the small river of the Caokias, also a farm of four aeres (arpents) in width situate in the territory to the Caokias, from the ditch to the Coast, bounded on one side to Mr. Clermont, on the other side to one named Darion, as the whole is now standing in all its dependencies and which the said Mr. Lagrange declares to know well for having seen them and visited them and of which he declares himself satisfied, without any reserve whatsoever on the part of the said Reverend Mr. Forget for the said mission to whom the whole belonged to as having been heretofore conceded by Her Majesty and was settled by the reverend missionaries who had heretofore resided there, the whole without being subject to any charges, rents, dues up to this day, to have and to hold and dispose of the same as property belonging to the said Mr. Lagrange, his heirs and assigns, the enjoyment to Commencee from this day, this present sale is thus made for and in consideration of the sum of twelve thousand

five hundred pounds that the said Mr. Lagrange promises and obliges himself to deliver and pay to the reverend Mr. Forget du Verger, upon the order of the reverend Superior of the said Foreign Missions in France, viz., the sum of two thousand pounds in one year from the date of these presents, two thousand pounds one year after, two thousand pounds one year after and two thousand and five hundred pounds the sixth year, for all delay, and subject to all costs, interests and damages, to the payment of the said sum of twelve thousand five hundred pounds the said Mr. Lagrange has obliged, incumbered and mortgaged all his property moveable and immoveable present and future and the property herein above sold shall remain mortgaged and encumbered by privilege until full payment, in consideration whereof the said Reverend Mr. Forget for and in the name of the said Missions has given up and divested himself of all the property sold for and in favor of the said Mr. Lagrange, his heirs and assigns, wishing him to be seized thereof and put in possession by all whom it may appertain constituting for his attorney the bearer of these presents to whom he gives full power to act, and for the execution of these presents, the parties have elected their domiciles at their above declared residences where they agree that all legal documents may be served upon them. For thus was agreed and stipulated. Promising, etc., obliging, etc., renouncing, etc. Done and passed at the Illinois in the office in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-three, the fifth day of November, in presence of Mr. de Neyon de Villiere, Major, Commanding for the King in the Country of the Illinois and Mr. de Verger, Infantry Officer, witnesses called to these presents who with the parties and the undersigned Notary have signed these presents after due reading thereof (signed) Forget du Verger P. M., Vic General, Layssard Lagrange, Neyon de Villiere, de Verger file and the undersigned Notary who has given a copy of these presents for first time (Signed) Labussiere, Notary.

Collated in the original to be deposited in the offices of the Clerk of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana, by us undersigned clerk of the said Council at New Orleans this twenty-third day of January, seventeen hundred and sixty-four.

(Signed) GAVIE, Notary and his paraph. '18

At the same time Father du Verger sold the slaves or servants, more properly speaking, belonging to the estate. The document by which this transfer was made reads as follows:

SALES OF SLAVES BY REV. FORGET DU VERGER TO M. M. LAGRANGE AND LAYSARD

"Before the undersigned Notary Royal at the Illinois and in presence of the hereinafter named witnesses, personally came and appeared the Reverend Jacques Francois Forget de Verger, Priest missionary of the foreign missions, Vicar General of His Lordship

¹⁸ Ibid.

the Bishop of Quebec, residing at the Parish of the Holy Family of the Kaokias at the Illinois, who did by these presents acknowledge and confess to have this day sold, assigned, transferred and made over, henceforth and for ever and by these presents promises to warrant from all troubles, debts, dowers, mortgages, incumbrances, substitutions and revendications generally whatsoever to M. M. Etienne Mara Laysard and Jean Baptiste Lagrange, merchants now residing at the Illinois, partners for the purpose of the present sale hereunto present and accepting, purchasers for themselves, their heirs and assigns, that is to say: the quantity of twelve black slaves belonging to the mission of the Holy Family of the Caokias, which said slaves are called as follows, viz.: A negro named Lacroix and Therese, his wife, a negro named Louis and Marie, his wife, a negro named Dominic and Rose, his wife, Paul their son, Agathe their daughter, Ambroise their son, Razalie and Sophie their daughters, a negro named Vincent, which said slaves the said Messrs. Lagrange and Layssard, partners as aforesaid have declared to know well for having seen received the same, and of which they declare themselves contented, without any reserve on the part of the said Mr. Forget, the vender acting for and in the name of the Superior of the Foreign Mission whom the said slaves belong to as having been purchased by the said Mission for good and valid Consideration. This present sale is thus made for the price and sum of twenty thousand pounds which the said Messrs. Layssard and Lagrange, partners as aforesaid promise and oblige themselves jointly and severally one for the other to pay and deliver in France to the order of the said Superior of the Foreign Missions at the time within the period hereinafter mentioned that is to say the sum of three thousand five hundred pounds in one year from the date of these presents, three thousand five hundred pounds, one year after, three thousand five hundred pounds one year after, three thousand pounds one year after and three thousand pounds the sixth year, making in all six years and forming a sum of twenty thousand pounds to be paid without any further delay under penalty of losses damages and interests. In consequence of which the said Mr. Forget du Verger acting for the said mission, has given up the said slaves herein before sold for the advantage of the said Layssard and Lagrange, willing the same to dispose of the said slaves as property to them belonging and for securing payment of the said sum of twenty thousand pounds, the said Messrs. Layssard and Lagrange have obliged bound and hypothecated all and every their property movable and immoveable actually belonging or that may belong to them hereafter, as also that said slaves who are bound and mortgaged by privilege until full payment, the first obligation not to nullify the second. And for the execution of these presents the parties have elected their domiciles at their residences herein before declared where they consent that all legal notification be made to them on account of these presents, even for paying all costs and executions.

For it was thus agreed between the parties, Promissing, etc., obliging, etc., Renouncing, etc.

Done and passed at the Illinois in the Office, in the year seventeen hundred and sixty three, the fifth day of November in presence of Mr. de Neyon de Villiere, major Commanding for the King in the Country of the Illinois and of Mr. De Verger, officer of Infantry witnesses residing at the Illinois, who have with the said parties and the undersigned Notary signed these presents after due reading thereof signed on the original, 'Forget du Verger, P. M. Vic. General,' 'Layssard,' 'Lagrange,' 'Neyon de Villiere,' 'de Verger Junr' and the undersigned Notary who has given a first copy of the same signed as a foresaid. Thus signed Labuviere 'Notary Collated on the original to be deposited in the office of the Clerk of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana by us undersigned Clerk of the said Council at New Orleans the twenty third day of January, Seventeen hundred and sixty-four.

(Signed) LARIE, Notary and his paraph."¹⁹

It is to be noted that the Commandant of the Illinois, De Villiers, was cognizant of the sale by Father du Verger; indeed, it is stated that he entertained fears similar to those which affected Father du Verger and, in a measure at least, was in accord with Father du Verger about selling the property.

His successor, De Volsey, whoever he may have been, after investigation, entertained quite a different view, and wrote a letter to some one, (this writer is not clear as to whom the letter was written), taking the opposite view. De Volsey's letter is as follows:

LETTER OF M. DE VOLSEY, COMMANDANT AT KAOKIAS,
NEW ORLEANS, 25, JANUARY 1764

"Sir:—Without going into minute details, allow me to assure of my profound respect, and to inform you that in my quality of commandant the village of the Kaokias, in the country of the Illinois, I have received special power from the inhabitants of the Parish to present their petition to the judge of Illinois, exposing the conduct of the Rev. Mr. Forget, pastor of this Parish, who as you will see has not been of the most exemplary, his haughtiness in his way of acting has exasperated everybody, his scandalous conduct carried beyond all endurance has filled the measure of all his iniquities.

He has not remained satisfied with all this, but he has acted like a man having the most despotic powers. He has bartered all the properties, among others the properties of the parsonage the land of which has been granted by the king to provide for the wants of the curate of the Parish in consequence of this the inhabitants to the amount of over sixty important families had built on this land a comfortable and spacious building. Mr. Forget has taken on himself to effectuate the sale of this property and to attain his ends he has shut the mouth of Father Lue a Recollec (Recollect) by making him

¹⁹ Ibid.

present of two slaves belonging to the mission one of which the latter has sold.

Finally Sir, of the thirty one black and red slaves, Mr. Forget has thought fit in a wantonness manner to make a present of part of them and to set the others free, the result of this transaction has been the sale of twelve slaves only.

The respect we owe the memory of the reverend M. M. Mercier and Laurent shall always be a source of regret to us all and to me in particular.

I believe Sir, that it will not be out of place that I should have the honor to state to you that at the death of the Rev. Mr. Laurent the mission of this Parish was worth at least four hundred thousand pounds. This statement that can be proved by a number of honest people here, shall be the best proof that I am not actuated by a spirit of partiality and a thirst for revenge, but in my quality as Commandant I am held to support the representations of the people of the place, whose petition I have forwarded to Mr. Dabbadie our Governor at New Orleans, of which petition I subjoin a copy, as also the Power of Attorney, given to me, which can but produce a good effect if you will only give this matter one moment of your attention.

I am persuaded that Mr. Dabbadie will have the honor of writing to you all the circumstances of the case inasmuch as the matter interests you and the reputation of your missionaries.

There only remains now to assure you that nobody more than we can be with a more profound respect,

Your obedient servant,

(signed) 'DE VOLSEY'

At New Orleans,

This 25th Jan. 1764.'²⁰

After Father du Verger left Cahokia the Quebec Seminary was without a representative in the Illinois Country, and although the inhabitants had spurred on the commandant and themselves made representations about the alienation of the property, the condition remained quite unsatisfactory.

Now, however, the chances of correct information and effective action were better. It will be remembered that though the council at New Orleans had issued a decree of banishment against all the Jesuits, yet when all had been brought to New Orleans for embarkation to France the council finally yielded to the entreaties of both the white inhabitants and the Indians to permit Father Sebastien Louis Meurin to remain and return to the Illinois missions. As soon, therefore, as the Superior of the Quebec Seminary learned that Father Meurin was back in the Illinois missions, he wrote him concerning the unlawful disposition of the Cahokia Church property

²⁰ Ibid.

by Father du Verger, and after some investigation Father Meurin sent the Superior a detailed account in a letter as follows:

LETTER ADDRESSED TO MR. BONET OF THE QUEBEC SEMINARY AT THE
KAS THIS 11TH JUNE, 1768

“Sir: I received your letter dated the 3rd May, 1768. Since that date I have not lost sight of your interests at the Kaokias. I induced the inhabitants to present a Petition to Mr. Read, Lieutenant Colonel Commanding at the Illinois, to present the petition in your name and in theirs. He refused to receive it in writing, saying verbally, 1st That you were wrong to intrust your property to a person capable of doing you injury, 2nd That the French Commandant has allowed and approved that sale, 3rd That the property had already passed in the hands of third parties, that the Country could not be upset on your account, and finally that he did not meddle with Church business.

The petition set forth that Mr. Forget, erroneously persuaded by the French Commandant that the English would pillage both priests and inhabitants and take possession of their wealth, had sold the whole as cheap as dirt in order to carry all he could rather than leave it to the English.

That this property having been given by the French Kings to the Quebec Seminary and increased in value by the said Seminary for the maintenance of their missionaries at the Kaokias, Mr. Forget could not sell the same without a power of Attorney from the Gentlemen of the Quebec Seminary.

That the pretended Power of Attorney of the Seminary of Foreign Mission of Paris was invented, and had it been real it would equally be null as long as the Quebec Seminary existed because it is to the Quebec Seminary alone that the property was given, and the Seminary alone has ameliorated it and enhanced its value. That the said property, has never been paid for nor discharged and consequently remains at least mortgaged in favor of the said Quebec Seminary.

That the said Mr. Lagrange, the first purchaser having died and Insolvent the said property should return to its original owners.

That Mr. Jautard second purchaser by a turn of the Cards has no more right of possession than the first and should be condemned to restore the property in the state in which it was at the time of the first sale.

About a month ago Mr. Jautard was desirous of selling the property to His Majesty's Commissary in the Country of the Illinois. The bargain was very near being settled. I went to make an opposition to the sale and put forth the petition of the inhabitants and your letter of instructions, to Mr. Forbes interim Commandant since the removal of Mr. Reed. Though possessing more pleasant manners, he at first refused to answer but he promised as also the Commissioner that the said property would not be sold until further orders from General Gage to whom you may make your representations.

The property is not worth one eighth of its value at the time of the first sale. Lagrange and Jautard have since sold the staves and cattle, the fences and buildings are wrecked, there only remains the building lots, a stone house of sixty and some odd feet built by Mr. Forget, the roofing of which is not yet finished, he did not cease building until the day of the sale (proof that he had no power of attorney even from Paris whence no news could be received for nearly one year). Accordingly the Notary assured me that Mr. Forget had only told him that he had a power and that the commandant had obliged him to write down that it existed. The largest trees of the orchard are still standing and are left to defend themselves against the cattle and the land. Mr. Jautard as insolvent as Lagrange was has made a bankruptcy and has left a fugitive from justice, to go we are told to Canada or among the tribes in the Upper Mississippi. If he goes to Quebec you can get him arrested, oblige him to render an account of your contracts, slaves, cattle of the deteriorations of the fences, buildings, etc., of the usufruct, etc. In all this I wish you great success, and earnestly recommend myself to your fervent prayers and your offerings of holy mass, in union of which I have the honor to be with the most profound respect,

Sir

Your most humble & obedient servant,

(Signed) S. L. MEURIN, S. J.²¹

Being now fairly well informed as to all the facts the Seminary authorities were ready to act, and taking advantage of a change which was about to be effected with reference to the Illinois missions, by which Rev. Pierre Gibault was to be sent by the Bishop of Quebec to the missions, the Superior of the Seminary advised Father Gibault of the situation, and gave him a power of attorney to deal with the whole matter. This is a most interesting document, especially in view of the frequent references to it to be found in historical works. It reads as follows:

POWER OF ATTORNEY, SEMINARY TO GIBAULT

“Before the undersigned Notaries Royal, residing at Quebec.

Personally came and appeared the reverend Urbain Bonet, Priest Superior of the Quebec Seminary, Sebastien Columban Pressart, Proctor, Mathurin Jacran, Henri Francois Grave and Francois Hubert, Directors of the said Seminary, who did and do hereby declare, that being in the impossibility of sending a missionary from the said Seminary to attend the Spiritual wants of the Parishioners of the Parish of the Holy Family of the Kaokias and being however desirous of doing everything to keep up the said mission and to put

²¹ Ibid. It is to be noted that between the time of the sale by Father Du Verger and the writing of Father Meurin's letter the government had undergone a change. The British had come into control.

the said Parish in possession of the property thereunto belonging which the Reverend Mr. Forget has sold without being authorized thereto. For that purpose, they have by these presents, made, nominated, established and constituted and do in fact nominate, establish and constitute for their General and special attorney, the reverend Pierre Gibault, Priest of the Diocese of Quebec sent by His Illustrious Excellency the Right Reverend Jean Oliver Briand, Bishop of Quebec, as missionary of the said Parish of the Holy Family of the Kaokias, to whom, in the name of the said Seminary, they give power to administer, govern and manage all the properties belonging to the said Mission to acquaint himself with the said properties to get an account rendered of the said properties by all whom it may concern; to take all legal proceedings if necessary jointly with the deputies or representatives of the said mission to obtain the cancellations of all deeds of sale or alienations of all the immoveable property belonging to the said mission, that might have been made by the hereinbefore named reverend Mr. Forget, without being authorized thereto without any right whatsoever and without even having a power of Attorney from the said Quebec Seminary, to whom alone the ownership of the said property belongs as being a dependency of the said Seminary who has disbursed on the said property over forty thousand pounds for the settlement of the said mission and for the maintenance and expenses of the missionaries that have been sent there since the year sixteen hundred and ninety eight, and who received by public documents from His Lordship de Saint Valier bishop of Quebec the care of the said mission.

The appearers give also full power to their said Constituted attorney to recover and receive from whom it may appertain the sums of money paid or that remain to be paid on the sale of the negroes and moveable effects belonging to the said mission, to cause an account to be rendered by whom it may appertain of the issues and revenues belonging to the said mission of which the parties so rendering an account might have enjoyed, to cause the same parties to render an account of all such goods they might have alienated or sold, to settle and audit the said accounts, to receive the balance still due thereon, to give valid discharges and acquittances the said Constituents declaring that the landed property and sums of money growing out of the sale of the negroes and other moveable effects shall remain for the benefit of the said mission, and be employed by the Constituted Attorney as also by the inhabitants of the said Mission in the manner that they will judge the most advantageous and forever for the benefit and good of the said mission but under the authority nevertheless and with the consent of His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec who has signed these presents; the appearers willing that the landed property belonging to the said mission and still there be not sold nor alienated by whomsoever but that the issues and revenues only be collected for the maintenance of the said mission without dilapidating any part thereof, and whereas the reverend Gentlemen of the Seminary do not intend receiving any profit from the sums of money collected on the landed property or the

moveables of the said mission, but that on the contrary that they desire that the said sums of money be made use of for the restoration of the said mission, the maintenance of the missionaries who will be sent there and in the surrounding country either by His Lordship the Bishop or by the reverend Gentlemen of the Seminary, they therefore declare that they do not bind themselves to make any advance of money for the maintenance of the mission, or for law costs or otherwise. And in the event of any difficulties arising in and about the affairs of the said mission, they give to the said Mr. Gibault and the said Parishioners power to take out all suits before all courts of justice, to oppose, to elect domicile, to procure all judgments, to put the same to execution by all legal and reasonable means, to appoint arbitrators to appeal from or submit to their judgment, to name attornies, to revoke them or substitute others in their places, to pay all costs and make all disbursements in the name of the said Parish of the Holy Family, and Generally to make for the good and benefit of the said mission all and every the things the constituents might or could do if they were personally present, promising to ratify everything, wishing and willing that the present Power of Attorney be not revoked by lapse of time and that it remain valid until it be expressly revoked and this on account of the great distances, obliging, etc. Renouncing, etc.

Done and passed at Quebec at the Seminary in the year seventeen hundred and sixty eight the fourteenth day of May in the forenoon and His Excellency and the said Constituents have signed after due reading thereof, thus signed on the original recorded in the office of Mr. Panet the undersigned Notary 'J. Ol. Eveque de Quebec,' 'Bonet Priest Superior,' 'Jacran Ptre,' 'Pressart Ptre' 'Grave Ptre' 'Hubert Ptre' Sanguinet Notary and we undersigned notary.'

True copy conforms to the original found in the minutes of the late Mr. J. C. Panet, Notary for that part of Canada heretofort called Lower Canada, deposited among the Archives of this District, Compared and collated by us the undersigned keepers of the same and Prothonotaries of the Superior Court of Lower Canada at Quebec this fourteenth day of September eighteen hundred and fifty seven.

(Signed) 'BURROUGHS S. Fiset,'
P. S. Cr.²²

At or about the same time the authorities of the Seminary addressed a petition to the commandant of the Illinois country, Col. John Reed, as follows:

PETITION OF QUEBEC SEMINARY TO ILLINOIS COMMANDER

"To His Excellency

The Superior and Directors of the Quebec Seminary have the honor to expose to you that Mr. Forget one of their colleagues, sent

²² Diocesan Archives, Belleville.

by the said Seminary in 1753 at the Tamarois to Officiate with the reverend M. M. Laurent and Gagnon at the Mission of the Holy Family of Kaokias, who after the death of the two last named missionaries, returned to France in 1763, had, before leaving bargained and sold all the property moveable and immoveable, to the exception of a small fief of four leagues in superficies for which no deed of sales appears to have been executed, all this property belonging to the said mission.

These properties are the following: a stone house and other buildings, a plot of land divided into a yard, garden and orchard measuring three hundred and fifty feet in width by nine hundred feet in length, the whole situate at the Parish of the Holy Family of Cahokia a flour and saw mill moved by water power with all its machinery and utensils situate on the small River of the Kaokias, and finally a farm of four aeres (Arpents) in breadth, situate in the territory of the Kaokias, the whole sold to Mr. J. B. Lagrange, merchant for the sum of twelve thousand five hundred pounds as appears by deed bearing date the fifth of November 1763, passed before Buissiere, Notary at the Illinois; and by another deed bearing the same date, passed before the same Notary, the same party had sold to the same Mr. Lagrange and to Peter Stephen Marafiet Laisart twelve black slaves belonging to the said Mission for the sum of twenty thousand pounds, which said sums according to the tenor of the said two deeds were to be paid at different periods to the order of the Reverend Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions of Paris.

Whereupon we beg Your Excellency to observe: 1st, that Mr. Forget could not bargain and sell the property of the mission having no power of Attorney neither General nor special to that effect, 2nd that the purchasers have not yet paid anything on account, 3rd that the Seminary of Paris in whose name the sale has been made has not and never pretended to have any rights on the property of the said mission, also that Mr. Forget had no power of attorney from the Seminary of Paris, 4th that the Quebec Seminary alone has the right to claim those properties because it has always incurred the expense of sending Missionaries since the permission granted by authentic documents in 1698 by His Lordship de St. Valier, Bishop of Quebec, and that the settlement of this mission has been made at the expense of the Seminary which added together exceed a sum of forty thousand pounds, which we are in a position to prove.

Due consideration being given to these facts, we claim the influence of your Excellency on the Governor in whose District is situate this mission of the Kaokias in order to apply to his spirit of equity and justice to annul the sale of the immoveable property made by Mr. Forget to Mr. Lagrange, and that the sum of twenty thousand pounds price of sale of twelve black slaves be paid over to the missionaries bearers of our full Power of Attorney which will be sent as soon as possible to re-establish this mission in Conformity to the

eager solicitation and desires of the inhabitants of the place who find themselves without spiritual instruction and help.

It is the favor which your most humble servants expect.''²³

FATHER GIBAULT'S USE OF THE POWER OF ATTORNEY

It appears that Father Gibault was later called upon to make use of his power of attorney. One Dame Marie Barbe Harlin, a widow, perhaps in the possession of some of the Seminary property, granted a parcel to a Mr. Poirier and his wife by a writing as follows:

"Before the Notary Public of Caokias and the witnesses herein-after named, were present Dame Marie Barbe Harlin widow of the late Pierre Dumary (?) which said Dame has acknowledged and confessed to have sold, assigned, transferred and made over with promise of warranty from all troubles, debts, mortgages, evictions, alienations, gifts, dowers and other incumbrances generally whatever to Mr. Poirier and to Dame Joseph Kelle his wife hereunto present and accepting, all the buildings erected on the town lot conceded to them by Mr. Chez the Commandant without producing any titles to the property to obtain which titles the said Mr. Poirier shall make all his efforts with the reverend Mr. Gibault, missionary and Vicar General to obtain a title of concession the said buildings being thus sold for the price and sum of sixty pounds currency in furs payable in the course of the month of May of the next year this sum being for the said buildings only. Executed at Caokias the eighteenth day of August seventeen hundred and seventy seven, in the presence of Mr. Jean Baptiste Mercier, witness who has signed with the said Vendor, and the said Notary on the original of these presents; the said purchaser has made his Cross in the presence of the said Notary after due reading hereof according to the requirements of the ordinance:

(Signed) 'J. BTE. SENET, Notary Public.

Collated and examined by the undersigned Notaries Public at Quebec on a certified copy handed to them and immediately returned. Done at Quebec the sixteenth day of August seventeen hundred and eighty four.

(Signed) BERTHELOT DARTIGNY

(Signed) A. PANET.²⁴

Agreeable to the arrangement for transfer Father Gibault approved the concession, sent it on to the Seminary, where it was approved by the authorities there. This approbation reads as follows:

"I the undersigned Priest Vicar General of His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec fiscal proctor of the Seigneurs of Kaokias, do hereby certify to have conceded and do hereby concede a town lot

²³ Ibid. This no doubt, is the petition referred to by Father Meurin.

²⁴ Diocesan Archives, Belleville.

of one hundred and fifty feet in front by one hundred and fifty feet in width bounded on one side by the street, on the two others by the Domaine on the fourth side by Jacques Lagrange to Joseph Poirier, to have and to hold the same in full property but however subject to acknowledgement, in testimony whereof I have signed at Kaokias this fifteenth May 1778.

(Signed) P. GIBAULT, Ptre. V. G. F. P.

We Directors Superior and Proctor of the Quebec Seminary, do hereby ratify and confirm in as much as the same may be required, the concession hereinabove made by Mr. Gibault subject to the Condition that the possessor shall pay to the original owners of the soil or their representatives by way of acknowledgement, the ground rent that shall be determined by the authorities of the place. Quebec 16th August 1784.

(Signed) BEDARD Pst. of the Seminary
 " GRAVE " Proctor.

Collated and examined by the undersigned Notaries Public at Quebec and there residing on the original to them presented and immediately returned. Done at Quebec the sixteenth day of August seventeen hundred and eighty four. Thus signed 'A. Panet and Berthelot Dartigny' Notaries.

Deposited among the Notarial minutes of Berthelot Dartigny one of the aforesaid and undersigned notaries by the reverend Henry Francis Grave, priest, Director and proctor of the Quebec Seminary, in order to give to him and to whom it may appertain all copies required, and he has signed.

Done in Quebec at the said Seminary in the year seventeen hundred and eighty four, the sixteenth day of November in the afternoon, after due reading thereof. Thus signed on the minute of these presents remaining in the office of the undersigned Notary 'Grave Pst Proct. of Quebec Seminary' 'A. Panet' Notary and we undersigned Notary.

(Signed) BERTHELOT DARTIGNY.'²⁵

NEW CHURCH REGIME

Another change was effected and a new spiritual leader arrives on the scene, Rev. Paul de St. Pierre, sent to the Illinois country by the Prefect Apostolic of the new Nation, the United States, Rev. John Carroll. Upon Father de St. Pierre's taking charge at Cahokia Father Gibault transferred to him his power of attorney in connection with the Cahokia mission property; and he takes up the matter of the recovery of the property with vigor and energy. What was done in this respect is graphically described in a letter written by the inhabitants of Cahokia to the Bishop of Quebec, as follows:

²⁵ Illinois Historical Collections.

INHABITANTS OF CAHOKIA TO BISHOP OF QUEBEC

“Sir:—

The inhabitants composing the parish of the Holy Family of the Cahos believe it their duty to inform you of the attempts made by Mr. Joutard who has taken up his residence in Montreal in order to dispost of the property of the Mission during the year 1785 on the 19th of May he gave a power of Attorney to Mr. Augustin Dubuque, traveling merchant from Montreal in order to dispose of what was still existing of the properties of the said mission which consists of the four walls of a stone house with three hundred feet of land in width by nine hundred in length and three acres (arpents) of land in width and measuring the same depth as the other farms of the other inhabitants; this attorney has caused these properties to be sold by his own authority with the assistance of a bailiff after three publications we did not make any opposition to the sale having at the time no knowledge of the Power of Attorney that the Reverend Gentlemen Superiors of the Chapter authorized by His Lordship the Bishop had sent to the Reverend Mr. Gibault passed before Mtre. Panet and Sanguinet, Notaries at Quebec the 14th May 1768 by Mr. De St. Pierre our Parish Priest, but after the auction only. Mr. de St. Pierre having only come to our Parish after that time, this, Mr. de St. Pierre being the person to whom Mr. Gibault has transferred his powers concerning the mission of Cahos. By the reading of this Power of Attorney we have discovered that all the sales made by the reverend Mr. Forget Vicar General of His Lordship were null & void having never been authorized by the Chapter and that you intended that all the properties of the mission should remain in the possession of the missionaries that you would choose to send and of the inhabitants residing in the parish to be held and kept up perpetually for the said mission and Parish, the revenues of the same to be made use of for their maintenance and that of the missionary, we making the necessary expenses and repairs to put them in good order and condition, the Chapter having no intention of incurring any liabilities, it is in consequence of this that we have judicially canceled and annulled all the sales made by Mr. Forget and others that have followed, and canceled also all the documents that the bearer of Mr. Jautard's Power of Attorney had caused to be made on the occasion of the auction sale, of the house and land, this Mr. Dubuque the Attorney of Jautard had become the purchaser, having put it up himself at a £1,000, at which price it remained no person wishing to outbid, he became at the same time the purchaser of the farms for about three hundred pounds including a few effects such as doors, windows, sashes and boards which the inhabitants had saved from the inclemency of the weather and pillage; Of these properties we have now retaken possession, we have commenced by building a Presbytery to lodge our Pastor which has cost us nearly five thousand pounds, the stone house having been completely wrecked by the British and American troops who took up their quarters there, those troops having caused the dilapidations which generally accompany their stay anywhere, the weather during the time the house was

inhabited did the rest, so that in reality there only remains four walls badly in want of repairs, without any covering or top, no flooring, the chimneys upset, no fences on the land, the orchard completely destroyed without any vestige of there ever having been one, all the other buildings destroyed even to the well that has been crammed full of stones and earth.

We have decided to make use of the walls of the house for our new church the old church having fallen to pieces and being thus compelled to have mass in a private house we have rented.

We have commenced to work on our projected church, which will cost over fifteen or sixteen thousand pounds. The mission has none of the slaves or cattle of any sort, Mr. Forget having sold the whole and carried away with him whatever monies he could collect. The three acres (arpents) of land being a burden to the missions on account of the expenses connected with their cultivation and maintenance, we have thought over the matter with the reverend Mr. St. Pierre and have decided to concede them subject to a rent and after three publications they only reached at auction the small sum from sixteen to eighteen pounds of annual rent per acre and the lots of one hundred and fifty feet square which could not meet their current expenses fetched from 20 to six of annual rent per acre also;—as for the other property such as slaves; mills and cattle, they have all been wasted and diverted from their destination at the departure of Mr. Forget by sale, liberty granted or by gift of the cattle, so that none of those articles are to be found at the mission. There are still some negroe families on the part of the property under Spanish domination which are considerable in value, they are domiciled in part at St. Lewis of Illinois and in part at New Orleans they are those whom Mr. Forget has set at liberty or that he has sold without being authorized, there are even some here in the Parish of Cahos, we have claimed from the Commander in Chief those settled in the Spanish part of the Country, but he has refused to grant our request. As this is a matter where the Government is concerned and that the Chapter is interested therein we have had no success and have come to the decision of remaining silent inasmuch as the Government is very despotic, contenting ourselves with praying you, Gentlemen, to take the matter in hand to have those negroes which have attained a great value by the increase of their families reinstated in possession of the mission. Before seeing the contents of the reverend Mr. Gibault's Power of Attorney, we were all in the uncertainty whether the sales made by Mr. Forget were valid or not. We feared to make useless attempts and to incur needless expenses. This power of attorney which was handed over to us has reassured us and opened our eyes and hereafter we shall work and do everything in our power towards the restoration of our Mission.

We beg of you Gentlemen to use your influence with the Bishop and his Chapter to obtain the authoriaztion and ratification anew of the Conditions inserted in the said Power of Attorney and to confirm the assignment of the Mission and its dependencies you have made to us jointly with any missionary you may select to look after the Parish.

We cannot praise too much our present pastor and missionary the reverend Mr. de St. Pierre; he has all the Capacity, zeal and charity to procure the edification and instruction of the faithful and to practice his ecclesiastical duties.

We are anxious to keep him and beg of you to accept him and get him accepted by His Lordship so that he may give him the necessary powers for our mission.

If you Sir come across any documents or ancient title deeds concerning our mission and Seigniorie (Seigneurie) of the Cahos which measures four square leagues we earnestly beg you to send them to us so as to secure us full possession now for fear of some trouble hereafter.

Since a year, a Mr. de la Valiniere former pastor of the Parish of 'The Assumption' and other places has arrived here. He gives himself as being sent by the Apostolic Father Prefect of Philadelphia. He has assumed the title of Vicar General of all the districts to the North of the River Coyo called Belleriviere, along the Mississippi, Wabash, Mianns, etc., by the letter he has written to us he gives himself *'as the messenger of God and of the Bishop of Quebec who has given us his powers if however he had any such powers here, but especially of the 'Apostolic Prefect who has received from the Pope the Administration of this country, etc., for the spiritual government of souls.'*

He could not show us any regular Commission or order.

We refused to recognize him in his aforesaid quality, knowing very well the disturbances he created in his Parish in Canada. Sir it is unheard of to tell you the scandals and disturbances this man is creating in the Parish of the Kas twenty leagues hence where he fulfills the functions of Pastor and assumes the title of Vicar General. He has incurred the wrath and contempt of the people on both the Spanish and American sides of the river so much so that the reverend Father Bernard a very pious French monk, who officiates on the Spanish territory could not keep his reproaches to himself declaring that he dishonored the ecclesiastical robe in this country. This same Mr. de la Valiniere has even spoken very boldly in a letter written to the Kas to a Mr. Lacroix inhabitant of the Parish where he officiated in Canada and who happens to be here and is on the eve of returning to Canada, in which he inquires from this Gentleman if the Bishop of Quebec and the reverend Mr. de Mongolfier, his two most cruel enemies are dead, and if their persecutions are finished, etc. By his letters written to us he has done everything in his power to put us in bad terms with Mr. de St. Pierre these letters we have in our possession and are made up with falsehoods and calumnies of the worst kind to such an extent that we were forced to write to him not to trouble our peace any longer that we would return him his letters without reading them and that we were determined not to receive him in our Parish as Vicar General. The people belonging to a different creed from ours and of both sides of the river have the greatest contempt for him his natural disposition to anger and his discourses which as well as his letters where he gives vent to his

wrath and excommuniations have exceeded the limits of decency without speaking of his thirst for money and have brought on him forever the general odium of all the people here. Should his ambition push him to ask the Bishop the position of Vicar General for this country, we beg of you to oppose his attempts, telling His Lordship how much the people would be scandalized, and that the noisy propensities of this man are more made to destroy religion than to keep it up.

We have the honor to be with the most profound respect at the Cahos 6th June 1787.

Sir

Your most humble and obedient servants The deputies of the inhabitants and Church wardens of the Church mission of the Holy Family of the Cahos at the Illinois.

(Signed)	C. H. DUCHARNE	L. CHATEL BTE.
	B. DUBUC	J. B. LACROIX
	F. SAUCIER	DUNAIX
	A. GIRARDIN	H. BIRON. '28

In the course of a couple of months a reply is received which settles several doubtful points concerning church interests in the Illinois country. This document reads as follows:

“Quebec 6th August 1789.

To M. M. Ducharme, Dubu— Saucier, Girardin, Chatel, Dumai, Lacroix, Brion, Inhabitants and Church wardens of the Holy Family of Cahos at the Illinois.

Gentlemen:—

Two months have elapsed from the time when the Superiors and Directors of the Quebec Seminary founders and ancient proprietors of the Mission of the Kaokias at the Illinois received a letter bearing date the 6th June 1787 signed as in the above address, of which no doubt you have kept a copy. The difficulty of sending you an answer has kept us from doing so up to this day, because many letters we had previously sent in your direction have been intercepted or at least appear not to have reached you.

Without proving the violence you have made use of to enter in possession of the property belonging to the Mission of the Cahos, I am prepared to say that it is true that in 1768 the said Seminary, to whom belonged the Mission of the Kaokias took the determination, for want of priests, to abandon the care of it to His Lordship Jean Ol. Briand titular Bishop, and that the said Seminary gave a Power of Attorney to Mr. Gibault, missionary, sent by the said Lord Bishop in order to legally set aside with the aid of the inhabitants of the said Mission of the Kaokias all sales and alienations made by the said Mr. Forget last missionary sent by the said Quebec Seminary, of all the properties of the said mission moveable and immoveable, to be made use of hereafter for the costs and maintenance of the missionaries, because the said Mr. Forget was in no ways authorized to make

²⁸ Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. V, p. 561.

this alienation. This Power of Attorney is not to be found at the Seminary, but you have it, keep it carefully, but remember that this surrender was only made under the express condition, 1st, that the Seminary would not pay any cost for recovery nor any disbursements whatsoever; 2nd, that the Seminary should in no way be held in the future to provide a pastor for the parish.

The Seminary has not altered its decision, but, Gentlemen, to manage this affair properly and make a final settlement a deed executed before Notary is required by which the ownership of the property hereinabove mentioned would be transferred to the Church (fabrique) of your parish, with this deed we would give up to you all the titles and documents referring to this property, to attain this object we do not see any other way than the sending *ad hoc* of some intelligent person chosen amongst yourselves who whilst transacting some other business in Canada would also terminate that one. We shall not give up those precious documents without making some legal arrangement.

As for what concerns the negroes belonging heretofore to the mission we believe they have acquired their liberty and we do not enter in your views to force them back into slavery, Providence has given them that precious liberty and thanks be to God we shall not consent that it be taken from them.

You suppose in your letter that the chapter or the Bishop of Quebec had some right of ownership in the temporalities of this mission, you are mistaken, they belong entirely to the seminary of Foreign missions of Quebec alone.

Again you are under the impression that your Parish of the Holy Family is yet for spiritual purposes under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec; I beg to state that the Holy See has put it under the jurisdiction of the Apostolical Prefect of the United States and that the Bishop of Quebec has made no objection, because your country is no more under British domination.

Such is the actual state of affairs, shall they be altered? I do not believe it, but I would not like to affirm it positively. It is for that reason that I do not answer the reverend Mr. St. Pierre, it is to the Apostolic Prefect that he must apply for his jurisdiction.

I repeat it again, it is very necessary that some one amongst you should come to Quebec, to receive the necessary instructions and terminate with us an affair which you should consider as very important to your Parish and that can tend to make it very flourishing. I am with much consideration

Gentlemen

Your most humble and obedient servant.

(Signed) GRAVE, Superior of the
Seminary of Foreign Missions of Quebec.''²⁷

This letter virtually ends the connection of the diocese of Quebec and of the Seminary of Quebec with Church interests in and about Cahokia.

²⁷ Diocesan Archives, Belleville.

THE FOUR LEAGUE SQUARE TRACT NOT INVOLVED IN CONTROVERSY

The foregoing documents clear up many apparent misconceptions. The most important information to be derived from them is that only the property covered by the first grant was involved, and in addition, of course, the slaves.

The four league square tract included in the second grant was not sold or attempted to be sold by Father du Verger, but remained undisturbed.

Accordingly, whatever effect the Du Verger transactions had upon any of the rest of the mission property, it had no connection whatever with the big reservation.

These documents, too, when read in full must cause something of a reversal of judgment as to Abbé du Verger, who has been the subject of considerable condemnation, and even abuse, since the day in 1763, when he sold the mission property, and departed for France. Whereas, he has been charged with carrying away everything that he could, it appears from these letters that he carried away nothing but a worthless promise on the part of Lagrange to pay to the Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris, not to Father du Verger, certain sums of money. It seems to me that it is plainly apparent that Father du Verger thought the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris was the head of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Quebec, which was not strange, for many writers have noted that the Quebec institution was the outgrowth of the Séminaire des Missions Étrangères or the Seminary of Foreign Missions of Paris.

Neither is he blameworthy from the standpoint of selfishness with respect to the personal property, for, although he sold twelve of the slaves, and in like manner took worthless paper, payable to the Superior of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris, he liberated most of the slaves and gave away some of them, also giving away some of the personal property, but, so far as the records show, never receiving a franc piece for himself from any of the mission property.

It has of course been noted that Lagrange or his assignees never paid anything on their promises, and that the real estate was all recovered back by the mission or parish.

Instead of the abuse which has been heaped upon Father du Verger who, apparently in good faith, in the light of all these letters, was seeking only to save what he could out of the ruin into which he thought the Council of New Orleans had plunged the Church and its property, the prayers of the faithful for forgiveness of the weaknesses or faults to which he succumbed, are more appropriate.

A NEW ERA

We now enter upon what may be termed a new era in connection not only with the Cahokia region, but with the whole of Illinois and the Illinois country. It will be recalled that the war between France and England, known as the French and Indian war, was brought to a conclusion by the battle of Quebec, fought on September 13, 1759, and that in the treaty concluded after the war the French possessions, including the Illinois country, were ceded to England; that although the treaty was concluded in 1763, yet the actual possession of the Illinois territory was not secured by the British until 1765. When, however, the English did secure possession, although the commandants were appealed to, no definite action was taken with reference to the Cahokia property, and the matter dragged on through the thirteen years of British domination without any settlement, and with only such action as has been set forth in the letters and documents above published.

In 1778 jurisdiction was again shifted through the Clark conquest, and the region became, in a sense, subject to the government of the state of Virginia. Conditions remained unsettled, however, until after the close of the Revolutionary War, and indeed for several years longer.

When, however, Virginia had surrendered its claim in the Illinois region to the United States government, and thus transferred jurisdiction to the United States, the Continental Congress, by what is known as the ordinance of 1787, provided a new territorial government for the region northwest of the Ohio. The proceedings leading up to and in connection with the then status of jurisdiction are well told in the course of an opinion of the Supreme Court of Illinois written by Judge Breese, and promulgated at the January term of that court in 1861, reading as follows:

“A slight glance at the early history of the State, may throw some light upon the question presented by this record, one new to our courts, and with no aid to be derived from adjudicated cases.

Anterior to the voyage of the Jesuit Priest, Father James Marquette, with the Sieur Joliet, in the summer of 1673, prosecuted under the auspices of Mons. Talon, the Intendant of New France, as Canada was called, and then under the crown of France, but little, if any, authentic information existed, of the river Mississippi. The Jesuit Father, with his companions, proceeded from Canada, by way of Green Bay and the Wisconsin river, entered the Mississippi on the tenth (17th) of June, 1673, and explored it to the mouth of the Arkansas, and returned, by way of the Illinois river, in September of that year. This was an exploration undertaking by the French Government, to be conducted on a larger scale subsequently, when,

in 1678, Robert Cavalier De LaSalle obtained letters patent from Louis XIV, dated 12th of May of that year. By this patent, LaSalle was permitted "to endeavor to discover the western part of New France," the king having at heart this discovery, "through which, it was probable, a road might be found to penetrate to Mexico." LaSalle was permitted to construct forts wherever necessary, and to hold them on the same terms as he held Fort Fromttenac under his patent of March 13, 1675. Acting under this patent of 1678, LaSalle with a small party, reached, by way of the Illinois river, on the ninth of April, 1682, the mouth of the Mississippi, and took formal possession of it, and of the country watered by the river, in the name of Louis XIV, and in his honor, called the country Louisiana.

In virtue of the authority, under his letters patent, LaSalle constructed Fort St. Louis, at the "Starved Rock," on the Illinois river, and other forts on the lakes, and Mississippi river. He seemed to have entire control of this portion of Louisiana, establishing his government at het Fort St. Louis, where it remained until sixteen hundred and ninety.

In the meantime, Jesuit missionaries advanced into the country, from the Seminary of Quebec, one of whom, James Gravier, as early as 1695, established the village of "our Lady of Kaskaskias," and there officiated at the altar, for several years, in the midst of populous tribes of Indians, laboring to convert them to Christianity.

In the month of July, 1698, the Bishop of Quebec granted letters patent to the directors and superiors of the Seminary of Foreign Missions there, for the establishment of a mission for the Tamarois and Kahokias "living between the Illinois and Arancies," their country being considered as the key and passage to more distant tribes. They were empowered to send their misisonaries there, and "to make such residences, and erect such missions as they might judge proper."

In pursuance of this authority, "the Mission of St. Sulpice" (Holy Family) was established among the Tamarois and Kahokia Indians, and a village grew up, called "the village of the Holy Family of Caoquias," populated by Indians, fur traders, and tillers of the soil, all within the shadow of the Church of the Mission. This church was the nucleus of the village, the ground necessary for it, and land for the use of the villagers being readily granted by the native owners.

From the time LaSalle took possession of the country in 1682, we discover no trace of a control by the crown of France, over it, until the grant to Anthony Corzat, by letters patent under date of September 14, 1712, of the whole commerce of the country, then for the first time, officially, called Louisiana. The Jesuit missionaries appear, up to this period, to have exercised all the control, necessary, over its people, subject to no power other than their superiors of the Seminary of Quebec.

Crozat made efforts to develop the lead mines of Missouri and imported many laborers and others, to the several missions on the Mississippi river, but failing to find the precious metals in which it was thought this country abounded, he, in 1717, surrendered his

patent to the then occupant of the throne, the infant king, Louis XV, who ruled France, under the regency of the Duke of Orleans. He, in conjunction with the celebrated Law, established "the Company of the West," or "Company of the Indies," to whom was granted all Louisiana, with power, in conjunction with an officer of the crown, to grant away the royal domain. The early records of this State, preserved in the French language, are full of grants made by this company, up to 1732, when it was dissolved, and its powers and privileges reverted to the crown.

Among these records is to be found a grant substantially as follows:

We, Pierre Duguet de Boisbriant, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, and First Lieutenant of the King in the Province of Louisiana, Commandant in the Illinois; and Marc Antonia de la Loire Des Ursins, Principal Commissary of the Royal Company of the Indies:

"On the demand of the missionaries of the Caokias and Tamarois, to grant to them a tract of four leagues square in fee simple, with the neighboring island, to be taken a quarter of a league above the small river of Coakia, situated above the Indian village and in going up following the course of the Mississippi, and in returning towards the Fort of Chartres, running in depth to the north, east and south for quantity. We in consequence of our powers have granted the said land to the Missionaries of Coakias and Tamarois, in fee simple, over which, they can from the present, work, clear and plant the land, awaiting a formal concession which will be sent from France by the directors general of the Royal Company of the Indies. At the Fort of Chartres, this 22nd June A. D. 1722. Signed Boisbriant—Des Ursins."

On this grant documentary evidence presented by counsel in the argument of the case shows, that a village was established and village lots granted. On the explosion of "the Company of the West," on the 10th of April, 1732, their powers and privileges reverted to the crown, from which emanated, thereafter all grants of land. In August, 1743, this grant made in 1722, was recognized by the French Government, acting through Mons. Vaudrieul, then Governor, and Salmon, Commissary, of the Province of Louisiana.

It will be perceived, there are no words in this grant, designating the land granted, or any portion of it, as commons—nor does it appear for what special use it was granted, but generally, for the use of the mission there established. Upon it the missionaries established their church and village—granted portions of it for cultivation, whilst the largest portion was suffered to remain for the common use of the inhabitants, for pasturage, wood and other purposes. It is a peculiarity attending the early French settlements here, that the tillers of the soil did not reside upon their cultivated lands, but in the village. There were their barns and stables, and out-lots for the protection of their cattle, and appurtenant to it was the common, on which their animals could range and feed. The tillable land was granted in narrow strips, usually about one arpent in width, and in depth for

quantity, some of which arpents were situate more than four miles from the village, going north.

In the cession by Virginia to the United States there was inserted a saving clause providing as follows:

“That the French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, St. Vincents and the neighboring villages who have professed themselves citizens of Virginia shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties.”

A similar provision was contained in the ordinance of 1787, and when the state of Illinois was organized the constitution of 1818 contained a similar provision, as did also the constitution of 1848.

Plainly, according to the basic laws the title to the Cahokia property remained just as it was; that is, in the Seminary of Quebec, for it is to be remembered that the Cahokia property was not established as a common for the use of the residents of the village of Cahokia, as was the case with some of the other commons, but the grant was direct to the Seminary of Quebec, and it so remained; or, in other words, in the Church. This was certainly the status up to 1791, as Judge Breese sets forth in the opinion above quoted from:

“On the 3rd of March 1791, the Congress of the United States passed an act for granting lands to the inhabitants and settlers at Vincennes and the Illinois country in the territory northwest of the Ohio, and for confirming them in their possessions, the fifth section of which provides ‘that a tract of land containing about 5400 acres, which for many years has been fenced and used by the inhabitants of Vincennes as a common; also a tract of land including the village of Cahos and Prairie du Pont, and heretofore used by the inhabitants of the said villages as a common, be and the same are hereby appropriated to the use of the inhabitants of Vincennes, and of the said villages respectively, to be used by them as a common until otherwise disposed of by law.’ ”

On this state of facts the Supreme Court incorporates in the opinion a paragraph which, upon close examination might be held *obiter dicta*. It reads:

“This act is an operative grant of all the interest the United States may at any time have had in the land described in the transcript of the commissioners under that date, and confirms the land in terms to the inhabitants of these ‘villages’ respectively. Now it cannot be material to inquire to what uses these lands were originally appropriated by the priests of the mission, the government having power to confirm the title to them or to grant them, having restricted the grant to the inhabitants of those villages as a common.”²⁸

The question may be asked, is the basis of the Supreme Court’s statement correct, “the government having power to confirm the title to them or to grant them.” Had the government power to confirm

²⁸ Herbert et al. vs. Francis Laval, 27 Ill., 448.

the title to these lands belonging to the Seminary of Quebec, and had the government power to grant them to anybody? The government could no more take away the property of this concern, the Seminary of Quebec, without due process of law, and without the payment of just compensation, than it could take the property of any other individual, corporation or association; much less had the government the power to take the property away from the priests of the mission, without due process of law, and then confer it upon some one else.

It is evident, however, that at the time this action was taken there was a prevailing impression that the government had complete control of these properties, but that impression no doubt arose from the misunderstanding of the nature of the Cahokia grant. Had it been a grant for common use, such as some of the other grants of commons were, the situation might have been different, and it is no doubt true that the Congress had in mind that the Cahokia grant was like all the rest.

It could hardly be expected, of course, that a situation like this would continue unnoticed. As a matter of fact as time passed and the lands became more valuable questions concerning these lands found their way into the courts, one of which was determined in the case above alluded to.

The case above referred to involved only the question of residence, and necessitated a decision only as to whether one who was not a resident of the village of Cahokia had a right of common, and it was held that he had not.

A subsequent case, that of Haps vs. Hewitt, was decided at the February term of the Supreme Court in 1881, and the opinion was written by Mr. Justice Mulkey. This case involved the title to a lot in East St. Louis, which city, by the way, was included in the Cahokia commons, so called. Prior to the rendering of this decision additional legislative action had been taken. In 1827 the state legislature by a special act authorized the inhabitants of Cahokia to elect annually from amongst themselves some suitable person to act as supervisor of the community, and by the express terms of the act he was made "supervisor of the common lands attached to the village," and enabled to sue and be sued with respect to the same.

By an act of February 17, 1841, entitled "An Act to authorize the supervisor of the village of Cahokia to lease part of the common appertaining to said village," the supervisor was authorized to have surveyed and divided into lots any part of the commons he might deem proper, and make leases of the same, either at public or private

sale, as he might think best, for any number of years, not exceeding one hundred.”

By the act of March 21, 1874, the legislature enlarged the supervisor's power for disposition over these commons, so as to authorize him to convey in fee the reversion of such parts of them as had theretofore been leased.

Accordingly, a means had been found for getting this supposedly public land into private ownership. All that was necessary under the several statutes was to first make a lease of any term, not exceeding ninety-nine years, and then sell the reversion to anyone who wished to buy. To all intents and purposes a lease of one year might be made and the reversion sold to the same lessee or to some other person, and the buyer would receive a fee simple title; and the court held in this case in substance:

“Under these acts the holder of a leasehold interest in a lot by acquiring the reversion, becomes the absolute owner in fee, the leasehold estate being merged in the fee.”²⁹

The case of *Rutz vs. Kehn* and others, was passed on at the May term 1891, and January term 1892. In this case the question of accretions or additions to lots on account of the recession of the waters of the Mississippi was involved, but the court held, in substance, that

“By section 5 of the act of March 21, 1874, persons holding any portion of such title by existing leases have the right to acquire the fee simple title thereto by paying a sum which, at 3 per cent per annum, will produce annually a sum equal to the rent due yearly under the lease proposed to be extinguished by the purchaser. This is such a property right that the lessee cannot be divested of it, without his consent, by any act of the village, or any one representing it, nor can it in any wise be incumbered nor abridged by a subsequent lease.”³⁰

This decision carries the process of elimination of the common title a step farther, and makes it plain that one could procure a lease from the supervisor on one day, and the next day come in and by the payment of a sum which, at three per cent per annum, would produce annually a sum equal to the rent due yearly under the lease, demand a conveyance in fee simple, and compel the issuance thereof. Subsequent cases involving some question with reference to these titles include:

²⁹ 97 Ill., 498.

³⁰ 143 Ill., 558.

President and Trustees of Commons of Kaskaskia vs. William McClure, in which an opinion was filed May 10, 1897, the case being reported in 167th Illinois, p. 23.

Stead, Attorney General and others, appellees vs. the President and Trustees of the Commons of Kaskaskia, opinion filed December 8, 1909, reported in 243 Ill., p. 239.

Land Commissioners vs. Kaskaskia Commons, 249th Ill., p. 578.

The point to be observed in all this litigation is the apparent error under which the Congress of 1791 acted in assuming that these lands had something of a public or common character, which was not true. It will bear repeating that they were the private property of an institution that was qualified to hold private property. They were never surrendered to the government of France, Canada or Great Britain, or in any way released or surrendered to the state of Virginia or the United States of America, yet, nevertheless, during all this litigation that question never was raised. Can it be possible that under our constitution and laws the title to property can be wiped out or transferred in this way?

In the great volume of litigation almost every conceivable controversy has been involved, and in the decision of litigated cases the courts have passed upon almost every question capable of contest; and while the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois may not have decided the exact question involved in the Cahokia property, yet in the decision of other cases principles have been laid down that would help one to arrive at an opinion regarding the Cahokia property.

One of the earliest cases involving church property is that of Ferrara and others against Vasconcellos and others, decided by the Supreme Court in 1863.³¹ It was a dispute between two factions or wings of the Presbyterian Church at Jacksonville, Illinois. The great legal luminary, John D. Caton, was then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and the other two justices (the court then consisted of but three justices) were Hon. Pinkney H. Walker and Hon. Sidney Breese. Chief Justice Caton in a separate opinion laid down the following principles, which have never been qualified to the present day:

“As a matter of law, as I understand the decisions, the rule is, that where a church is erected for the use of a particular denomination, or religious persuasion, a majority of the members of the church cannot abandon the tenets and doctrine of the denomination, and retain the right to the use of the property; but such secessionists forfeit all right to the property, even if but a single member adheres

³¹ 23 Ill., 456.

to the original faith and doctrine of the church. This rule is founded in reason and justice, and is not departed from in this case.

Church property is rarely paid for by those alone who there worship, and those who contribute to its purchase or erection are presumed to do so with reference to a particular form of worship, or to promote the promulgation or teachings of particular doctrines or tenets of religion, which, in their estimation, tend most to the salvation of souls; and to pervert the property to another purpose, is an injustice of the same character as the application of other trust property to purposes other than those designed by the donor.

Hence it is, that those who adhere to the original tenets and doctrines for the promulgation of which a church has been erected, are the sole beneficiaries designed by the donors; and those who depart from and abandon those tenets and doctrines, cease to be beneficiaries, and forfeit all claim to the title and use of such property. These are the principles on which all these decisions are founded; and so long as we keep these principles distinctly in view, we can have no great difficulty in applying them to the facts of each particular case, when the facts are once clearly ascertained."

Another case involving property considerations is that of *Chase and others vs. Cheney*.³² This was a controversy which arose in Chicago, and involved primarily questions of ecclesiastical discipline in the Protestant Episcopal Church. The great lawyers who contested in this case were Melville W. Fuller, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, for the defendant in error, and William C. Goudy and Mr. Corning Judd for the plaintiffs in error. The great jurist, Anthony Thornton, wrote the opinion of the court, in the course of which he laid down the following wholesome principles:

"In this unhappy controversy, is involved a graver question, and of deeper moment to all christian men—indeed to all men who believe that christianity, pure and simple, is the fairest system of morals, the firmest prop to our government, the chiefest reliance, in this life and the life to come. Shall we maintain the boundary between Church and State, and let each revolve in its respective sphere, the one undisturbed by the other? All history warns, not to rouse the passion or wake up the fanaticism, which may grapple with the State, in a deathly struggle for supremacy.

Our constitution provides, that 'the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall forever be guaranteed.' In ecclesiastical law, profession means the act of entering into a religious order. Religious worship consists in the performance of all the external acts, and the observance of all ordinances and ceremonies, which are engaged in with the sole and avowed object of honoring God. The constitution intended to guar-

³² 58 Ill., 509.

antee. from all interference by the State, not only each man's religious faith, but his membership in the church, and the rites and discipline which might be adopted. The only exception to uncontrolled liberty is, that acts of licentiousness shall not be excused, and practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the State shall not be justified. Freedom of religious profession and worship can not be maintained, if the civil courts trench upon the domain of the church, construe its canons and rules, dictate its discipline, and regulate its trials. The larger portion of the christian world has always recognized the truth of the declaration, 'A church without discipline must become, if not already, a church without religion.' It is as much a delusion to confer religious liberty without the right to make and enforce rules and canons, as to create government with no power to punish offenders. The constitution guarantees the 'free exercise and enjoyment.' This implies, not alone the practice, but the 'possession with satisfaction'—not alone the exercise, but the exercise coupled with enjoyment. This 'free exercise and enjoyment' must be as each man, and each voluntary association of men, may determine. The civil power may contribute to the protection, but can not interfere to destroy or fritter away."

Property rights were again involved in the case of Kuns vs. Robertson,³³ decided in 1895, and which involved a dispute between factions of the church of the United Brethren in Christ, in the opinion, which was a *per curiam* opinion, it is said:

"We are of opinion that in thi sease there has been no such perversion, misuse or abuse of the trust invested in appellees, as would authorize interference by the courts. They and their predecessors have been in the possession and control thereof continuously for more than a fourth of a century, and have been and are the representatives, officers and members of the church of the United Brethren in Christ, and as such are entitled to retain the trust and the possession and enjoyment of the trust property."

Another decision, bringing the familiar principles down to a more recent date was rendered in the case of Alden vs. St. Peter's Parish,³⁴ originating in DeKalk county, in connection with a transfer of lands to St. Peter's Parish in the city of Sycamore, by James F. Waterman and Abbie L. Waterman, his wife, and was contested by factions of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The decision in the case was written by Hon. Orrin N. Carter, still a distinguished member of the Supreme Court, and one of the ablest jurists that ever graced that tribunal. In the course of the opinion Judge Carter said:

"It has been repeatedly held by this court that the statute of 43 Elizabeth (chap. 4) is in force in this State, and that gifts to char-

³³ 154 Ill., 394.

³⁴ 158 Ill., 631.

itable uses are, by force of that statute, excluded from the operation of the rule against perpetuities. (*Heuser vs. Harris*, 42 II., 425; *Andrews v. Andrews*, 110 id. 223; *Crerar v. William*, 145 id. 625.) It is also established that a gift for the support of churches, or to pay the expense of preaching any particular religious doctrine, comes within the equity, and therefore within the spirit, of that statute, as a gift for a charitable use. (*Andrews v. Andrews*, supra; *Crerar v. Williams*, supra; *Hunt v. Fowler*, 121 Ill., 269.) It is true that the questions presented for decision by this record, so far as they (or those of a kindred nature) have heretofore come before this court for consideration, have arisen under wills, and not deeds. But we do not understand the counsel for appellants to insist that the deeds in question are void on the ground that, being made to the officers of an unincorporated society in trust for such society or its members or directly to such unincorporated society, there was no grantee capable, in law, of taking by deed. If the grant were not one made as a gift for a charitable or pious use, and so not brought within the saving provisions of the statute of 43 Elizabeth, it might be contended that the deeds would be void for want of a grantee, capable of taking. (*German Land Association v. Scholler*, 10 Minn., 331.) But we are of the opinion, conceding that the religious society in question was not incorporated, that the conveyances were made to the rector, church wardens and vestrymen of the society in their official capacity, in trust for a designated charitable and pious use, and are within the provisions of the statute in question, and are not void for want of a grantee capable of taking by deed, but will be upheld and enforced in equity, unless rendered invalid upon other grounds urged by counsel and referred to below. *Judd v. Woodbury*, 2 Root, (Conn.) 289; 20 Am. & Eng. Ency. of Law, 804, *Ferraria v. Vasconcelles*, 31 Ill., 25.

The conveyances in question were made to the rector, church wardens and vestrymen of this unincorporated religious society, the one conveying the one hundred and sixty acres being 'upon the express condition and trust that the rents, issues and profits be devoted to and used for the payment, so far as it may go, of the salary of the rectors of said parish forever,' and the other, conveying the lots, being upon condition that they were to be used for church purposes only. Both were given for the consideration of love and affection for the church and parish. It is clear that these conveyances constituted a gift in trust for a charitable use. (*Ferraria v. Masconcelles*, 23 Ill. 456 and 31 id. 25; Am. & Eng. Ency. of Law, 805-809.) And in such a case a court of equity will be inclined to lend its aid in carrying out the purpose of the donor and to give effect to the trust, if it can be done consistently with existing laws. The questions so far considered have been so often and so uniformly decided that we deem any further discussion of them, and citation of authority in support of the position here assumed unnecessary."

Considering the whole record as sketched in the letters, documents and observations here presented one can hardly avoid arriving at the

conclusion that the title to these Cahokia lands was never by any process taken out of the original grantees or donees of the French government. On the face of this record these lands belong to the Church, for the Fathers of the Quebec Seminary were but trustees, holding for the Church.

Hon. Harry E. Daugherty, Attorney General of the United States has during the month of November, 1922, given utterance to the principle of the inviolability of Church property in a most striking and effective manner to the effect that Church property belongs to God and is not affected by human laws and transactions.

Whether the Church, the rightful owner, is by lapse of time, or some other circumstance precluded from repossessing itself of the property, is a question for exhaustive legal investigation. The moral question, or question of right and wrong in the matter, seems not open to discussion, as from that standpoint the lands belong to the Church.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago.

PATH FINDERS

REV. DENNIS RYAN, MISSIONARY AND PASTOR

Due to various causes, some of them very strange indeed, Illinois has been honored by the presence and ministrations of some of the most notable personages ever connected with the American clergy.

The names of such great leaders as Marquette, Allouez, Gravier, Marest, Meurin, and indeed of all the Jesuit missionaries to the Indians are familiar, as are also the names of Gibault, Olivier, Richards, St. Cyr and others of the earlier days, but there are many of a later day in all respects notable that have practically vanished from the memory of men although their labors and sacrifices were almost as great as those of their noted predecessors, and the results achieved by them were in all respects most gratifying.

Amongst such as these may be mentioned Rev. Dennis Ryan, the founder and organizer of the Church in Lockport, Illinois, and the leader of the Faithful in a large territory surrounding that settlement.¹

Father Ryan came to Lockport from the East, enjoying the distinction of being the first priest ordained in Boston, Mass., the first priest ordained by the saintly Bishop Cheverus, and the modern apostle of the State of Maine. His career prior to coming to Illinois is admirably told in a paper by Rev. John E. Kealy of Lewiston, Me., which follows:

The centenary of the dedication of St. Dennis' Church, North Whitefield, Maine, naturally brings to mind the pioneer Catholic families, as well as the nearly forgotten figure of the man who for upwards of a third of a century, ruled over and guided the destinies of this our first Catholic parish in Maine, the man who ministered to the spiritual and temporal wants of our early Catholic settlers, the man whose memories and traditions yet linger, and are often recalled

¹Through marriage the Ryan family of which the Rev. Dennis Ryan was a most worthy representative and Rev. Jeremiah Kinsella, the first pastor of the Holy Name Cathedral and first president and founder, under Bishop William Quarter of the University of St. Mary of the Lake, as well as the substantial family of Kinsellas of Chicago and Joliet were related.

The niece of Rev. Dennis Ryan, Mary Ryan, married John Kinsella, brother of the father of Rev. Jeremiah Kinsella, and of this marriage was born Francis D., John J. and J. Edward Kinsella, all well-known in Chicago and as organizers and operators of the Kinsella Glass Company.

by the children of the third and fourth generation who today love and revere the name of Dennis Ryan, the founder of their parish.

Born at Bramblestown, County of Kilkenny, Ireland, May 1st, 1786, Dennis Ryan's early years were spent in the bosom of a devoted Irish family whose one aim was to give its offspring all the advantages then possible for the children of a well-to-do, if not rich occupant of the Irish soil. His boyhood days witnessed the stirring scenes of 1793 when those sterling patriots, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Napper Tandy, Wolfe Tone, and others were organizing their countrymen for the preservation of the nation's liberties; when the men of Wexford, in their might rose up against the English tyrants; when the immortal Emmett was sacrificed on the altar of his country; when the eloquence of Grattan and the learning of Curran were powerless against the enemies of his native land. While too young to join in what proved to be a one-sided and hopeless contest, young Ryan never learned to love the oppressor of his race, and as we shall see was not slow in taking sides against her, once the opportunity presented itself.

From his earliest years, filled with the ambition of a missionary career, with the desire of devoting his energies to the spiritual needs of his exiled countrymen, Dennis Ryan, on the completion of his preparatory studies, entered Carlow College, for the usual course in Philosophy and Theology where he remained for one year, at the expiration of which he decided to cast his lot with the thousands of his fellow countrymen then seeking their fortunes in the new world. As England and the United States were then at war, coming here being out of the question, the young man naturally directed his footsteps towards Canada with the hope of either passing thence to America, or of continuing his ecclesiastical studies in one of the Canadian seminaries. Here perchance would have been the scene of his priestly labors, had not Divine Providence willed otherwise by so shaping events as to bring the young aspirant to holy priesthood to the very place where his services would be in greatest demand by his exiled countrymen, many of whom were obliged to leave their native land, following the failure of the rebellion of '98.

In his after years, Dennis Ryan took great pleasure in recalling the manner of his entrance to the United States, of how he chanced to make the acquaintance of the American people as well as to witness American valor. On its way to Quebec, the vessel bearing young Ryan was captured by a Yankee privateer. As Father Ryan used to narrate this stirring incident: "The English and American ships were lashed together, and all were ordered to board the American vessel, and pass down into the hold of the ship. American officers

were stationed on either side of the gang plank to view the prisoners as they came on board. When I came up, turning to the American officer I exclaimed, 'Now I am where I want to be, where I can fight the English.' The officer took me by the arm and told me to go up on deck where I would find congenial companions and the opportunity of gratifying my wishes, a privilege which was accorded to no one else among the prisoners, and which gave me on landing the freedom of the old Puritan metropolis of Boston, where for a time, I earned my livelihood working in the harvest fields outside the city."

Anxious to continue preparations for the sacred calling to which he had already been introduced by holy tonsure at Carlow College, the young man was not long in making the acquaintance of the kind Catholic Bishop then ruling the destinies of the Church in New England. Good Bishop Cheverus had long been looking for vocations to holy priesthood among the few struggling Catholic families here and there, over the vast territory which he was accustomed to call "my poor diocese." Burdened with the responsibility of the children of the Church, with only one priest, the aged Matignon, to assist, if we except the missionary, James Romagné, whose energies were devoted to the spiritual needs of the Catholic Indians at Old Town on the Penobscot as well as at Passamaquoddy on the historic Sainte Croix, we easily realize the joy that beamed from the heart of the illustrious Cheverus as he bade young Ryan welcome to his humble home, and gave him the assurance that he and his friend, Dr. Matignon, would do all in their power to further the exile's laudable ambitions by hastening the day when as a priest he might be commissioned to carry the Divine message, and break the bread of life eternal in the midst of many a poor family then sighing (in their far and distant homes) for the consolations of the spiritual life.

From now on, Ryan's time was devoted to learning, in the home of his benefactors, the lessons necessary for the faithful performance of his future duties, endowed as he was with talents beyond the ordinary, pious and devoted to the needs of the Master's vineyard. It was in the home and at the table of men like Matignon and Cheverus, that many a heroic missionary was taught the virtues of the sacerdotal life, the exemplary practice of which has given them an honored place in Catholic American history.

It was probably some time in February, 1815, that Dennis Ryan took up his residence in the parish house in Boston, where he remained until he came to assume his duties as resident priest among the Catholics of Maine. While awaiting the day of his ordination, his time was given to the study of sacred theology, to teaching catechism, to

assisting in the administration of the sacraments, as well as in the general duties about the humble household, the home of the first Bishop of Boston. That he succeeded in pleasing his patrons, and responding to their wishes, is amply evidenced by the written testimony of Bishop Cheverus. In a long letter addressed by Cheverus to the Father of the American Church, Archbishop Carroll of Baltimore, we find the following reference to Dennis Ryan: "I have now with me in the house, an Irish young man, aged twenty-eight years, who has studied Philosophy and Divinity a year at Carlow College in Ireland; he has received tonsure. His name is Dennis Ryan. He has been three months with us. He continues to study Divinity, catechises, attending us when we administer the sacraments, etc. He is of mild manners, and appears sincerely pious. I have written to Kilkenney for an exeat, and if I receive it with the proper papers, testimonials in his favor, after some time, I will ordain him. His talents are not brilliant, but I hope that he may prove a useful assistant to my venerable friend, particularly when I am absent from Boston. He was bound to Quebec; was taken by a privateer, and brought here last October."

Thus passed the immediate preparation of Dennis Ryan for the priesthood to which he was advanced by his Bishop two years later, his ordination taking place on the morning of May 30th, 1817, in the old Franklin St. Cathedral.² A large congregation assembled to witness the first conferring of Holy Orders in Boston, the first ordination in New England. Bishop Cheverus, who preached the sermon on this historic occasion, eloquently depicted the responsibilities of the exalted dignity to which he had raised their young friend, together with the brighter side of the picture, in as much as man thereby becomes, as it were, a channel, through which flow countless, priceless and inestimable blessings to his fellow creatures. As was customary, all were eager to receive the young priest's first blessing; to kiss the hands of the Lord's anointed. The life of the young man "of mild manners and sincerely pious," had not been without its effect among the good people of Boston, many of whom like himself were natives of the ever faithful isle. The desire to honor him with presents was general, some even wishing to confer costly gifts, or large sums of money, like one of the Bishop's closest friends, Mr. Vernon de Bon-

² "On the last day of May, 1817, Bishop Cheverus ordained Rev. Dennis Ryan, the first priest of his diocese, and a long and laborious missionary. The ordination took place at public Mass, the Bishop giving a full explanation of the Catholic doctrine of Holy Orders." Shea, *Catholic History of America*, p. 117, citing letter of Bishop Cheverus to Rev. S. Gabriel Brute.

neuil, who had left instructions that one hundred dollars should, in his name, be given the young priest on his ordination day.

Writing a few hours later, this same day, May 30, 1817, to Mr. De Bonneuil, who was then at Guadeloupe, Bishop Cheverus says: "Je viens d'ordonner Mr. Ryan. Il dira sa première messe demain," or as we would say in English, I have just ordained Mr. Ryan. He will offer his first mass tomorrow. It was, therefore, on the feast of the Most Holy Trinity, 1817, in the Franklin St. Cathedral, Boston, that Dennis Ryan saw the realization of his fondest hopes and aspirations. His dreams as a child amid the loved haunts of his native land, amid those vales so often sanctified of old by the clean oblation, were now to be verified; his stewardship of two years or more in the home of his Bishop where he had shared in the labors and privations of our first chief pastor, were now to be crowned, when in all humility he was privileged to ascend the Altar of the Lord, there to begin his sacrificial life with the sublime words of the Trinity Introit: "Blessed by the Holy Trinity and undivided Unity; we give glory to Him because He hath shown his mercy to us." Truly could the young priest give echo to these words of Holy Writ, so fraught with mystery. From his very heart he could not but feel the conviction that to him the mercy of the Lord had been great, since out of his poverty, out of his very lowliness, he had been given an eminence to which the rich, the great, and the grand might well aspire.

As assistant at the Boston Cathedral, the duties of the young priest at once began under the direction of his pastor, Dr. Matignon. An old seminary director, Father Matignon still preserved that sacerdotal spirit which was the distinguishing trait of the clergy of his day. A Doctor of the sorbonne, he possessed that knowledge of things divine which left him without a peer among the men of his time. That he did his best to train his young assistant in knowledge and piety, during the few months he remained under his care, can we for a moment doubt? The eyes of the missionary Bishop were also carefully centered on the life of his young priest, and we may well rest assured that he watched with interest the pupil develop under the master hand of his venerated friend. Were we privileged to read the correspondence that passed between Bishop Cheverus and Dr. Matignon during the summer of 1817, while the Bishop was on his annual trip to what was then called the District of Maine, we would be given many a hint of praise, many a confession of zeal, many a hope of future promise. We would be made to realize that the chief pastor had already selected the scene of his youthful co-laborer's future victories, and that that chosen field of toil would be none other than

our own dear State of Maine, especially the growing missions of Whitefield and Damariscotta.

With these promising surroundings before him, with his plans all matured, Bishop Cheverus in the fall of this same year under date of October 8th, from the sheltering walls of the Kavanaugh homestead at New Castle, wrote his friend, Mr. De Bonneuil, who was still at Guadeloupe, that he was planning to send Father Ryan to Damariscotta in the spring, adding: "I will then give him the hundred dollars you wished me to give him in your name on the morn of his ordination." The Bishop had already written that in his judgment it would be unwise then to give a young priest so much money, but, remarks the Bishop in this same letter, "once on the mission this sum will be very useful to him." Twenty years of toil and travel in Maine had taught the zealous Cheverus the need of a little extra means, hence he saw the utility of husbanding his priest's meager fortune for the hour of need, for the days when he would be thrown on his own resources, where his sources of revenue would in truth be limited.

Father Ryan's formation period was continued through the winter of 1817 and 1818, a winter remarkable for its mildness at Boston, and the fact that the first snow came only on the 10th of January; but long ere the forest snows had melted, or the roads had settled in Maine, the young priest had received his appointment. It was an April morning in 1818 when, were it permitted us to look into the secrets of the humble episcopal residence in Boston, we would have heard the last parting adieus, the heartfelt God speed, and beheld young Ryan with his few belongings on his way to Maine.³

Did he make the toilsome journey by stage, or did he avail himself of the kindly offices of some good captain, the reader is left to imagine. Either way had its difficulties, and must have left him travel worn and fatigued long ere he reached his journey's end. But where to lay his weary head; where to rest his toil worn frame? Thus far the one home that had ever kept its latchstring out for the wandering priest was that of Mr. Kavanaugh at New Castle. Thither in all probability came Father Ryan to spend his first days in Maine, to repose and get his bearings before taking up a work that was to carry him practically through his entire priestly career. James Kavanaugh and his partner, Matthew Cottrill, were then as they had been for many years, the chief support of the Church in Maine. Bishop Cheverus in his reports to Archbishop Carroll represents James Kan-

³ "The next year (1818) he (Bishop Cheverus) dispatched to the mission in Maine the Rev. Dennis Ryan who, to the joy of the Catholics in that district, became their permanent pastor." *Ibid.*

enough as being a leader in all that concerned the welfare of the Church in New England.

For many years it had been the aim of Bishop Cheverus to establish a resident priest at New Castle, where he would be easily accessible to most of the Catholic people then living in this section, and where the little brick chapel erected in 1808 would be available for Sunday and daily services. In fact, since this Chapel, now the oldest in New England, had been opened, the Bishop had endeavored to have Mass there as frequently as possible, being there for the most part himself during the summer months, arranging to have the missionary priest, James Romagné, then stationed among the Indians at Passamaquoddy, to spend the winter season at the home of Mr. Kavenaugh, at New Castle, just a few steps from St. Patrick's Church. But as the neighboring towns had long been open to settlers and all the available lands occupied, or held at too high a price, the few poor families, chiefly Irish, then coming to this section of Maine, were naturally forced to settle farther up the valley of the Sheepscot in the towns nearer its source.

When Father Ryan arrived in New Castle in the spring of 1818, several of these families had already located in the towns of Whitefield, Windsor and Jefferson, where the land appeared richer, and was held at a lower price. Thither the young priest directed his steps and took up his residence in the home of Peter Kavenaugh who, with his young family, lived in a log cabin, not far from the present Catholic Church in Whitefield. Here Father Ryan remained until he had erected the brick house, which stands today as one of the monuments left to recall the memory of the first resident pastor of the Catholic Church in Maine. For some time it was a question as to whether the new church should be situated in Whitefield or Windsor, the Catholic people at this time being about equally divided between these two towns. The location of the church was finally decided by James Keating, who offered to give a lot in case the church was built in Whitefield. Father Ryan accepted Mr. Keating's offer and built his church on the spot where the present church now stands, a spot which he was later on obliged to purchase from Ruel Williams of Augusta, who apparently was able to establish a valid claim to the land donated by Mr. Keating.

The first church which Father Ryan built in Whitefield, begun shortly after his coming, was a hastily constructed building, designed more to take care of the pressing needs of his people, than to furnish them with what might be termed a permanent place of worship. Aided by his good parishoners, the priest went into the forests, cut and hewed green timbers which were rapidly assembled, giving in a

short time shelter, if not an artistic home, for religious worship, a home after all in keeping with the primitive habitations of the early settlers. This first church in the Irish colony of Whitefield, was dedicated under the invocation of St. Dennis by Bishop Cheverus, June 30, 1822.

To one familiar with the history of these early days of the Church in Maine, but few records are necessary for the reconstruction of the life of one of her pioneer missionaries. We have only to remember the isolated families oftentimes fifty or even several hundred miles distant; the roads, frequently little more than paths through the virgin forests, designated by spotted trees, bordered and overhung with luxuriant vegetation in summer, in winter with drooping branches heavily laden with snow,—to realize the long and tedious journeys which had to be undertaken by the young pastor when it was necessary for him to visit the members of his widely scattered parish. Sick calls were often on the road several days ere the zealous priest could arrive at the afflicted home to sooth the troubled soul, or perhaps to sympathize with those left to mourn the untimely death of an unshriven Christian. The difficulties of a newly settled country had to be met and conquered by Dennis Ryan during the early days of his pastorate at Whitefield, Maine. Physically robust, able to turn his hand to any kind of work, capable of enduring all kinds of fatigue, we easily see how he was well fitted by nature to perform the laborious duties of a pioneer pastor of the infant Church in Maine.

To receive exiled Irish families, aid them in the selection of their farms and in the erection of their primitive homes, to finance their temporary needs, to be to them a father in God, a friend in need, a consoler in sorrow as well as a sharer in their pleasures, such was Father Ryan's lot during the early years of his stay in Whitefield.

So many and varied were the duties of a priest on the mission during these early years in our history, so intimate were his associations with his people, so much did he enter into their daily lives, that we need not be surprised to find frequent mention in his Bishop's correspondence of his success and of the esteem in which he was held by his parishoners. Among the letters of Bishop Cheverus preserved in the archives of Baltimore and at Quebec we come across many references to Dennis Ryan in his parish at Whitefield.

Under date of October 28th, 1818, in a letter from Bishop Cheverus to Archbishop Marechal of Baltimore, we find the following reference to our early missionary: "Father Ryan, whom I ordained at Trinity last year, is at present on the mission in the Maine District, where he is doing very well, being loved and respected by all. This

has encouraged me to take into my house another young Irishman, Mr. Patrick Byrne, who is now studying Theology under my care. I shall likewise ordain him for the Maine District." Again under date of January 7, 1819: "I have at my house a young Irishman whom I am preparing for ordination. Father Ryan, the one who preceded him, is doing so well on the mission, that I am encouraged to continue this work." In a summary of his diocese and its condition addressed to Archbishop Marechal, November 26, 1822, we find mentioned the names of the entire clergy of the Church in New England.

"I have here with me," i. e. in Boston, "Rev. William Taylor, Vicar General; Rev. Paul McQuaide, who attends Salem and other places about Boston; Rev. Patrick Byrne (a first cousin of Father Dennis Ryan), who lives here, but who visits the Indians in Maine; Rev. Dennis, who resides in the State of Maine and attends to the churches at Whitefield and New Castle. The last two made their Seminary studies with me, and I ordained them. 'They are, thank God, two good priests.'" That Father Ryan was a faithful laborer in the vineyard of the Lord, generally esteemed by all is the conclusion we gather from the careful perusal of these time worn, over a century old letters now carefully preserved in the Archiepiscopal archives of Baltimore and Quebec, letters which enable us to throw much light on the lives of priests who, like Dennis Ryan, graced the heroic age of the Church in our country. Under Father Ryan's fostering hand this first Catholic parish in Maine prospered and became as it were a center whence his activities extended to many parts of the State where today we have large and flourishing parishes. His visits to these different places, then important seaside towns like Portland, Bath, Wiscasset, Walterborough, Thomaston, Belfast, Bangor, etc., kept the Church and their religious duties before our early Catholic families. It is to these families, for the most part poor and struggling, but blessed with numerous children many of whom, owing to lack of religious training in our holy faith, were, through force of circumstances, lost to the Church, that we owe the many good old Irish names so frequently found along our seaboard, whose bearers no longer know the great Church of their forefathers. As a rule, our people settled in groups whenever possible, hence in these places they were more easily reached and the losses to the Faith correspondingly diminished. Had it been possible for Bishop Cheverus to place several priests like Father Ryan in the field at this early date, we have little doubt that the history of the Church in New England would have been materially changed. But while we cannot help regretting our losses, we nevertheless find much to console us in the labors of early

missionaries, such as Father Ryan, who through their tireless energy held in the Faith many who might otherwise have been lost.

When Father Ryan came to Whitefield in the spring of 1818, his people were few and were living for the most part in log cabins in the midst of small clearings where the green stumps of the recently fallen trees were in evidence on every side. But in a few years this was all changed, so much so that a traveller passing through his parish felt himself obliged to leave us the following beautiful description of the results attained chiefly through Father Ryan's efforts together with the willing response on the part of his people.⁴

Written under date of July 16, 1832, this old time letter states: "The congregation of Whitefield consists of more than twelve hundred souls. Twenty years ago there were scarcely five Catholics in

⁴ Father Ryan had other important charges also, as appears from memoranda in the archives of the diocese of Boston as follows:

"1825. A small brick church at Damarascotta in the State of Maine. The congregation extremely small, consisting of five or six families only. It is served once a month by Rev. Mr. Ryan. A small frame church at Whitefield, Maine, which is likewise served by the Rev. Dennis Ryan, who divides his time between the two places.

The congregation belonging to this last mentioned church is greatly scattered and is far more numerous than the other. The church is said to contain four or five hundred persons and is generally filled in good weather.

THE CHURCH AT OLD TOWN, MAINE

This church was erected exclusively for the tribe of Penobscot Indians who are all Catholics. It is old and small. The tribe consists of about four hundred souls.

THE CHURCH AT PASSAMAQUODDY, MAINE

This church was also erected exclusively for the benefit of the Passamaquoddy tribe of Indians, who like the others are entirely Catholic. Their number is about three hundred. The church, though small, is tolerably decent. Adjoining it is a house for a clergyman, but unfortunately, like their brethren at Old Town, they are at present destitute of a pastor. The Bishop will make it his duty to procure one who may divide his time equally between the tribes.—*Memoranda of the Diocese of Boston.*

Sister M. Anastatia Ryan, a niece of Father Ryan, certifies that she copied the foregoing notes verbatim from the records of the Diocese of Boston and she adds, 'Although the name of Rev. D. Ryan is not mentioned as administering to the Indians, still I think he did, remembering of seeing some of them coming on the Feasts of Christmas or Easter to Whitefield where a brick church was erected.' Sister Anastatia also gives an impression of her Uncle: 'The remembrance of our Uncle impresses me that he was a type of the Bishop. (Cheverus)—Modeled himself on him or rather lead a hidden life in God, Who is the Divine Model for us all. It is to be regretted that his missionary life in Maine of 29 years and in Illinois of six years were not written. His work at times extended from Joliet, or even Morris, to near Chicago. I am inclined to think the grand Washington Park was in former days the 'Twelve Mile Prairie.' "

this section of the country. The whole, for many miles around, was a mere wilderness, with here and there a log-house, a few spots of land newly cleared for culinary purposes, and no other road than a rude irregular path formed through briars and brambles by some other animal than civilized man. What a surprising change in a few years! A thickly settled Catholic population now covers the land—beautiful farms appear in every direction—orchards are planted—roads are cut—comfortable houses erected—and the large and convenient barns, which everywhere strike the eye, and the extensive fields of grass, sufficiently indicate the fertility of the soil, as well as the industry and growing prosperity of the inhabitants. None of these may be called rich, in the common acceptance of the word; but there are few among them that do not abound in the necessities, and a great many of them in even the comforts of life. But what is greatly to be admired among these good people is, their simplicity of manners—and the great hospitality which is exercised throughout every part of this Catholic settlement. The stranger is there received with cheerfulness, and the best which the house can afford is immediately placed before him. A difference in religion makes no difference in the real or the hearty welcome which is given.”

The above described prosperity and hospitality had been largely shared in by Father Ryan who had been a leader and was largely responsible for the happy condition of his people. His large two story brick house with an open fire in nearly every room, his finely cleared acres, his well ordered barns, his orchards of selected fruits, even to this day testify, bear silent witness to the industry and hospitality of the good priest long since gone to his reward. When we go over his farm and home today we are told by the descendants of the early settlers, that Father Ryan was ever on the lookout for the coming of a new family to his parish; that he would enquire from what country they came, and how long they had been on the way? We are told that they were taken into his home, made welcome, given employment on his place, either tilling the soil or building the well constructed stone walls which yet surround these fields of the long ago. If these deserted halls, if these now fireless fire-places, if these stones, could speak, how many anecdotes of Irish wit, how many humorous stories of Irish life, of that beautiful peasantry when at its best, would they not tell us! how edifying would they not be, coming as it were from our early ancestry across the ages!

When Bishop Fenwick came to visit Father Ryan in July, 1832, on beholding the wonderful increase in population and prosperity which reigned in the colony, he urged that a church more in keeping

with their present happy circumstances be erected. In responding to the expressed wishes of his Bishop, there was as usual little delay on the part of Father Ryan and his people. The construction of the present parish church at Whitefield was commenced the following year, and continued so rapidly that a passing observer was able to report in March, 1834, that "The Catholics of Whitefield, in the State of Maine, have already their new Church roofed in, which will be completed without delay." They have indeed done themselves much credit in the size and solidity of the building which they have undertaken, and which we are informed is one of the largest in the State.

About 1840, Father Ryan was transferred to Rhode Island, where he had charge of the Catholic people in Pawtucket and Providence. We note his presence at the laying of the corner stone of St. Patrick's church, Providence, July 13, 1841, and that he was in charge of this church from September, 1841, until July, 1842, his being the happiness to celebrate the first Mass in the new church on Christmas day, 1841. During his pastorate in Rhode Island, Father Ryan lived in or near Pawtucket where he officiated regularly in the recently erected church which bore the name of St. Dennis. On the close of his days as pastor of Providence and Pawtucket, Father Ryan again returned to his former parish at Whitefield to remain until his departure for the West in 1848. Data at our disposal do not render clear the chain of circumstances which led to his going West. It appears, before going permanently, he had already visited the western section of our country then being opened up to colonization, going (in 1843) "via the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes, taking with him his little niece, Mary Ryan. This niece later became the wife of John Kinsella and mother of the founders of the Kinsella Glass Company of Chicago, Francis D. Kinsella, John J. Kinsella and J. Edward Kinsella. Father Ryan and his charge traveled from Chicago to Dubuque, Iowa, and back by stage. As there were no bridges, they were compelled to ford rivers and were delayed several days at a time waiting for high waters to recede. That great movement of humanity which has culminated in the Great West and its metropolis, Chicago of today, was then sensed in a way by Dennis Ryan, who easily saw possibilities no longer possible in the East. Since quite a number of his immediate family looked to him for guidance, and because he saw in the West opportunities far more advantageous than they could hope for in New England, it was quite natural for him, on his return to Whitefield, to seek his release from the Bishop of Boston, or at least to obtain a permit which would enable him as a priest to leave his parish and take up his duties in another diocese.

The great influx of Catholic people to Illinois at this date rendered it practically impossible for the Bishop of Chicago to supply their needs. Hence when it was reported to Bishop Quarter of Chicago, that a priest from the East had arrived at Lockport, he at once appointed him pastor of this place and many neighboring missions. But to build a church and again establish himself as he had done in Whitefield, must have been no small problem for a priest now advanced in years; for we must remember that Dennis Ryan had now seen over thirty years of strenuous life in the priesthood, about all of which had been devoted to building up the missions of the Church in Maine. Nevertheless whatever energy he still retained was freely given to his new task, and we see him taking a hand in the work just the same as he had done during his younger years at Whitefield. Settled at Lockport, Illinois, his parish now extended from Chicago to Morris, Illinois, comprising a large section in which there are many parishes today. The church which Father Ryan erected at Lockport, and on which he worked himself helping to hew the timbers, yet remains and is in use as a Sisters' school.⁵

⁵The following is part of a record made in the parish register of St. Patrick's Church, Joliet, Illinois:

REGULATIONS MADE BY THE BISHOPS OF THE DIOCESE RELATING TO THE CHURCH
OF JOLIET, MAY 14, 1850.

"1st. Rev. Mr. Hamilton will attend the Church of Joliet every Sunday—say two Masses—sing the last, and give Vespers and Benediction—and such devotional exercises as will promote piety among the people.

2nd. Rev. Mr. Ryan will attend the congregations dependent on Joliet, viz., Lockport, twice a month, and Dresden and Cass Precinct, each once a month—the Sag may be attended on week days.

3rd. Rev. Mr. Hamilton may attend Twelve Mile Grove and Wilmington on week days.

4th. Both priests will be entitled to their own respective perquisites, to be employed as they may deem proper.

4th. Pew-rents will be divided into three shares—one share or third of the whole to go to the support of each priest; and the other third to liquidate the debt of the Church, or to repair or improve it.

Rev. Mr. Hamilton will use his exertions and influence to have the debts of the Church paid as soon as practicable—and may, if he chooses, appropriate any portion of his perquisites, and the Sunday collections—after providing the altar with wine and candles.

Rev. Mr. Hamilton will have the power of appointing a committee of three men whom he may select to aid him in the temporal concerns of the Church—if he deem it proper to do so."

Original text in Baptismal Records of St. Patrick's Church, Joliet, Ill., copied by Rev. Joseph P. Morrison, Assistant Pastor of St. Patrick's Church, January 5, 1923. There are numerous entries and references in the Church Records of the old churches in the neighborhood made by or referring to aFther Ryan.

Unlike many who enter the priesthood, Father Ryan was gifted with no small natural ability, having great aptitude for mechanics. As a pioneer this talent enabled him to use his less favored parishioners to advantage, and hence to further his work. He could show them how to hew and frame a building, make bricks, or run a saw-mill, all of which he did while at Whitefield, and which he undoubtedly continued during the few remaining years of his life at Lockport, Ill. "In these days," remarks one of his relatives, J. Edwards Kinsella, of the firm of John J. Kinsella & Co., Chicago, "buggies were very scarce; he made one. The woodwork was done by himself, the iron work was done by a blacksmith." Hard manual labor, long fasts, and missionary labors of a long priestly career at last wrecked the robust constitution of Dennis Ryan, and left him an easy victim to Cholera which attacked and carried him to an early grave, August 28th, 1852.

In an old copy of the *Boston Pilot* under date of September 25, 1852, we find the following account of the passing of this pioneer priest, the first ordained in New England.

"DEATH OF THE REV. DENNIS RYAN"

Intelligence has reached us of the death of this venerable priest. He formerly lived in North Whitefield, Me., where he was endeared to the people of that place for his many excellent qualities. The letter announcing this sad intelligence, says: "I regret to have to communicate to you the death of a venerable old priest, a missionary in your Diocese for many years, the Rev. Dennis Ryan. He departed this life on the 28th of August last at his brother's residence near Lockport, in the Diocese of Chicago. Rev. G. A. Hamilton, pastor of Joliet, administered to him the last Sacraments, and the Rev. M. O'Donnell attended him during his last moments. I went to see him about ten days previous to his death and during my visit he arranged all his temporal affairs. His death was that of a holy priest, who labored long and usefully in the vineyard of Christ, leaving this life full of years and merit. I am informed that he died at the age of 66—38 years of which he labored in the Holy Ministry."

All that was mortal of Dennis Ryan, pioneer missionary in Maine and Illinois, now rests beneath a simple cross in the cemetery at Lockport, Illinois, but his immortal soul, let us fondly pray, had long since passed to the society of his Creator, and that of his many sainted parishioners.

(REV.) JOHN E. KEALY.

Lewiston, Maine.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN ILLINOIS

It has been said that the greatest institutional contribution that America has made, and probably the greatest she will ever make to the civilization of the world, is her system of public education. Nowhere else do teachers show so strong a desire for self-improvement, parents so great a determination that their children shall take advantage of the opportunities offered, or citizens so great a willingness to bear the necessary expense. While such an institution is inherent in the American doctrine of "equality of opportunity" for every one, regardless of race, sex or creed, its development has been so rapid as to tax to the utmost the resources of every community in America. Is there then a place for private endeavor in the field of education?

Manifestly it is impossible for the overtaxed public schools to provide for their students either the physical equipment, the teaching staff, or the personal supervision that increasing numbers of parents are desirous their children should have. If all other considerations were waived, this fact alone would create for the private school and college a permanent place in American institutional life. But their longevity is assured for other potent reasons. The complete separation of church and state is axiomatic in American political philosophy hence, all religious and many of the deepest spiritual problems of the race can not be incorporated into the curricula of the state-controlled schools. It therefore behooves the Church herself to maintain centers of learning for the propagation of these spiritual elements that are fundamental in human life. The Church has been divinely appointed to "teach all nations," and we therefore find that she has never failed to encourage most earnestly Catholic education. To such an extent has this been done in our country that the Catholic school is one of the outstanding moral facts in the United States. During 1920, 1,981,051 children were educated in Catholic schools.¹ During the same year, 23,250,000 children were educated in the public elementary schools at a cost of \$950,000,000.² Besides paying their proportionate share for the maintenance of public education, Catholics carry the financial burden of supporting their own school system.

¹ *Catechism of Catholic Education*, Bureau of Education, N. C. W. C., p. V.

² *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Ever since Catholic education came to Illinois with Father Marquette, S. J. in 1673 when he passed through the entire state, preaching to and teaching the natives at what is now Peoria and Utica, we find that the Church has been zealous in her work of education. The Jesuits established in 1721 in Kaskaskia what is known in history as the Jesuit College, and thus became the first school teachers of the Illinois country. The first school organized on a rather extensive scale was in the early part of the nineteenth century by a company of Trappist Monks, and was located a few miles east of what became St. Louis. This was a free school; the student body consisted of boys and girls, the number running into the hundreds. In 1833 the Visitation Nuns opened the first academy in Mid-America at Kaskaskia, and thus became the pioneers of higher education for women. Bishop Quarter in 1844 gave to the people of Chicago and the great Middle West the first institution for higher education of men. From this time on we find that education developed rapidly, and that Illinois has ever since been regarded as pre-eminent in Catholic education. The School Census of 1920 places the State as third in Catholic school enrollment.³ Three to four generations of the residents of Illinois have had an opportunity of attending Catholic schools.

It is not the purpose of this article to enter into the history of the Catholic educational institutions of the State, as this was done admirably in a previous article on Catholic Education in Illinois.⁴ Repetition will, therefore, be avoided as far as the completeness of the present article will permit.

There have been various investigations and reports made on the condition of Catholic as well as public education throughout the United States, foremost among the former being that of the Bureau of Education of the National Catholic Welfare Council, briefly summarized in "A Catechism of Education." It is the purpose of this article to summarize for the readers of the Review the results of a study of Catholic education in the State of Illinois. The work of collecting statistics is generally conceded to be tedious, as it is very difficult to obtain exact data. The Official Catholic Directory shows various inconsistencies, especially in the number of students given in the Recapitulation at the end of the dioceses, the same number being given for several years in succession. The state of uncertainty becomes even greater when comparing various

³ Ibid., p. 11.

⁴ ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. 4, pp. 339-354.

authorities for the same data. Thus the Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools published in 1921 does not fully agree with the Official Catholic Directory for the same year. If we look at the number of parochial schools in these publications for Chicago, we find that the Official Directory shows 281 while the other gives 285. The number of pupils enrolled also differs. One source has 138,600, while the other has 140,881. The data for the Diocese of Alton also show a disagreement. The Official Directory gives the number of parochial schools as 67, while the Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools gives but 65.

Table 1 shows the decennial growth in the number of parochial schools and the increase in the number of children enrolled in the parochial schools of the State from 1873-1923. Table 2 gives the same data for the years 1913-1923 inclusive. The tables have been arranged by Dioceses and for reliability are dependent entirely upon the accuracy of the Recapitulation given at the end of the Dioceses in the Official Catholic Directories for the various years.⁵ All statistics for the parochial schools have been taken from the Official Directory. It will be noticed that because of the magical growth of Chicago and the surrounding suburbs, the Archdiocese maintains a large percentage of the Catholic Schools of the State, and, consequently of the enrollment. In 1923 for instance, it comprises 289 or 52.9 percent of the total 546 parochial schools of the State, with an enrollment of 147,255, 76.5 percent of the total State enrollment. As early as 1890, during the administration of the Most Reverend Patrick A. Feehan, D. D., who was known as the "Patron and Apostle of Catholic Schools," it was conceded that the attendance at Catholic schools in the Archdiocese was larger than in any other diocese in the United States. One of the first statements by the Most Reverend G. W. Mundelein, D. D. after his installation as Archbishop of Chicago regarding the diocese and his proposed work therein was with reference to the development of the parochial school system. His Grace strengthened the organization of the parochial schools, unified the methods of teaching and textbooks, and by an episcopal order required the branches included in the curriculum to be taught in English in every school.

⁵ *The Catholic Directory* for 1873, after enumerating the parochial schools and attendance in the Archdiocese of Chicago, adds: There are many other schools in charge of religious communities.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF ILLINOIS PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS AND ATTENDANCE
FOR THE YEARS 1873, 1883, 1893, 1903, 1913 AND 1923

	Chicago	Alton	Belleville	Peoria	Rockford	Total	Increase in Attendance
Year	Parochial Schools	Parochial Schools	Parochial Schools	Parochial Schools	Parochial Schools	Parochial Schools	Periodical Increase
	Pupils	Pupils	Pupils	Pupils	Pupils	Pupils	Percent Periodical Increase
1873	52	60	..	..	..	112	.....
1883	86	100	.....	36	.....	222	18,501
1893	122	100	6,175	56	.....	290	82.6
1903	166	65	7,210	64	.....	362	23,937
1913	227	66	10,000	70	.....	466	28,507
1923	289	64	11,303	82	4,219	546	93,345
					6,668		140,586
							192,413
							51,827
							36.9

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF ILLINOIS PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS AND ATTENDANCE
1913 - 1923

	Chicago	Alton	Belleville	Peoria	Rockford	Total	Increase in Attendance
Year	Parochial Schools	Parochial Schools	Parochial Schools	Parochial Schools	Parochial Schools	Parochial Schools	Annual Increase
	Pupils	Pupils	Pupils	Pupils	Pupils	Pupils	Percent Annual Increase
1913	227	66	9,317	77	26	4,219	.....
1914	246	66	10,113	75	28	4,605	4,613
1915	256	68	10,309	80	28	4,730	1,498
1916	250	67	10,480	76	29	5,198	1.
1917	260	66	10,524	79	31	5,714	2,783
1918	279	66	10,569	74	31	5,723	4,973
1919	281	67	10,335	73	31	5,937	510
1920	281	67	10,762	74	31	6,205	532
1921	281	67	10,465	74	31	6,797	164,462
1922	281	61	10,633	77	33	6,476	1,912
1923	289	64	11,303	82	33	6,668	14,730
							4,349
							8.8
							2.3
							3.7

According to the Religious Census of 1916 there are 1,171,381 Catholics in Illinois, or 18 percent of the total population of 6,485,280, as given in the 1920 Census.⁶ The Official Directory for 1917 gives the following figures which represent the Catholic population in 1916. For comparison, the figures from the 1923 Directory are contrasted with those of 1917.

	1917 ⁷	1923 ⁸
Chicago	1,150,000	1,150,000
Alton	87,000	87,000
Belleville	71,838	73,200
Peoria	115,550	119,182
Rockford	58,199	60,918
<hr/>		
Total	1,482,587	1,490,300

It is evident that the figures representing the totals are not reliable, and that the increase far exceeds the 7,713 which is credited to the Dioceses of Belleville, Peoria and Rockford. The Catholic population of the Archdiocese of Chicago is not given in the 1908 Directory, but beginning with 1909 up to and including 1923, the total Catholic population of the Archdiocese is given as 1,150,000. According to figures received from the Department of Public Instruction at Springfield, the total number of pupils in the elementary schools of the State was 1,086,111 at the close of the 1921-1922 scholastic year. Table 1 shows the parochial schools of the State as having had an enrollment of 192,413 for the same year, amounting to 17.7 percent of the total elementary public school enrollment.

At sight of such facts, let us consider the cost of the education of a child attending the elementary school, or, what amounts to practically the same thing, how much does our Catholic population expend for educational purposes, besides paying their proportionate amount of taxes for the upkeep of the public schools? In 1920, according to the Bureau of Education, National Catholic Welfare Council, the cost of educating one child in the elementary public school in the United States approximated \$40.⁹ According to "Digest of a Study of Public Education Costs," prepared by N. B. Henry under the direction of the Committee on Education of the Chicago Association of Commerce, the cost of educating one child in the

⁶ *Fourteenth Census of the U. S.*, p. 1050, Table 7.

⁷ See the *Recapitulation* at the end of the respective dioceses in the *Official Catholic Directory*.

⁸ Do.

⁹ Computed by dividing the total expenditures for elementary schools, \$950,000,000, by the number of children in the elementary schools—23,250,000. *Catholicism of Catholic Education*, p. 81.

elementary schools of Chicago in 1920 was about \$51.35,¹⁰ while for the entire State of Illinois the expenditures approximated \$63.15¹¹ per pupil or \$10.96 per inhabitant. On the basis given for the United States (\$40.00) the cost of educating the 166,462 children attending our parochial schools in Illinois in 1920 would have amounted to \$6,658,480. On the same basis the cost of educating 192,413 children for the year just elapsed (1922-1923) would be \$7,696,520. To the number of children educated in the parochial schools should be added for this computation the number of children receiving elementary education in academies maintaining grammar grades in addition to the high school course (see List of Secondary Schools and Enrollment), approximating 4,000 exclusive of the number previously included in the enrollment in the parochial schools and exclusive also of the high school pupils, making a total of 196,413 pupils educated in Catholic elementary schools in Illinois for the year 1922-1923, raising the cost to \$7,856,520. According to the *Digest* quoted, the cost per pupil in the elementary schools in Chicago for 1922 was \$67.93¹²; at this rate the additional cost to the City of Chicago of providing education for the 126,469 pupils in the 210 parochial schools of the City would be \$8,581,039. In addition to this it may be considered that of the 381,988 pupils in the Chicago public schools other than continuation of students, 76,469 including 20.4 percent of the total number of elementary public school pupils are without regular seats.¹³ The cost of maintaining the public schools of Chicago nearly equals the expenditures of the city of Chicago for all other corporate purposes.¹⁴ However, the cost of educating a child in the parochial school is far less than that in the public school. It is estimated that two or three pupils can be maintained in the former for every one in the latter. This is mainly due to the fact that teachers in the elementary public schools receive a salary far exceeding that of the teachers in our own schools, and that the expenditures for the general control, operation and maintenance of the Catholic schools are kept as low as economy combined with the highest type of efficiency will permit.

Here one may be tempted to ask how the religious teachers compare with the lay teachers in the public schools. As regards the professional preparation of teachers, Dr. P. P. Claxton, former U. S.

¹⁰ P. 11, Table III. The *Digest* quoted.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Table V.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Commissioner of Education, states that half the total number of public school teachers have gone beyond the eighth grade; but one-sixth have two years more; and one-third four years additional. Half the number have thus had no particular preparation whatsoever.¹⁵ Although this estimate applies to all public school teachers, yet from it we may draw conclusions regarding the teachers in the public schools of Illinois. According to the statistics quoted in "The Education of Teachers in Fourteen States"¹⁶ the total number of teachers in public schools in the United States in 1918 was 650,000; the 180,394 teachers included in the given statistics represent between one-quarter and one-third of all the public school teachers in the country. The group is representative of different parts of the country, and would indicate that if all the years of complete training were distributed evenly among all the teachers, the resulting figure would approximate one and one-fourth years of training. 16 percent of the teachers in the public schools of Illinois are college graduates, 20 percent are normal-school graduates and 64 percent are not graduates of either normal school or college. The average number of years per Illinois teacher of completed training beyond high schools is 1.054, obtained by multiplying the number of college graduates by four and the number of normal-school graduates by two, and then dividing the sum of these two products by the total number of teachers.

Although we have no exact statistics of the Catholic School System as a whole, it can be fairly estimated that of the 41,581 teachers in Catholic elementary schools, 75 per cent are graduates of high schools or have had considerable high school training, at least 50 per cent have had formal teacher training, and practically none are teaching today without a considerable amount of preparation acquired in the classroom and by attendance at summer courses.¹⁷ Exact figures with reference to the professional training of Catholic school teachers in Illinois are not available, but it may be assumed that they would not differ widely from those of the neighboring State of Wisconsin. In an article, "The Certification of Teachers in Wisconsin,"¹⁸ it is pointed out that in the State of Wisconsin 42.6 per cent of teachers reported have training above high school; 37 per cent have more or less college training; 19.1 per cent have professional training other

¹⁵ Quoted in the *Catechism of Catholic Education*, p. 32.

¹⁶ *Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. III, pp. 161-172.

¹⁷ *Catechism of Catholic Education*, p. 32.

¹⁸ *Proceedings*, C. E. A., 1919, p. 230.

than Catholic community normal; 74.5 per cent have high school training, and 25.2 per cent hold certificates.

Catholic education differs fundamentally from secular education, and this difference must reveal itself nowhere more strikingly than in the formation of the teacher. Catholic teacher training, being but one phase of Catholic education, must be guided by what Catholic philosophy teaches concerning the origin and destiny of man, the nature of the human mind, and Catholic doctrine concerning the nature of truth. On all of these points Catholic teaching is explicit, and no educational practices may be adopted that clash therewith. We can not teach one branch according to Christian principles, and another on the basis of naturalism. If, in the Catholic scheme of education, all sciences grow out of religion, in which they find their source and ultimate meaning, then surely no exception can be made in the name of the science we call pedagogy. We need teachers developed in the spirit of Christian principles who, in every method that they follow and in every device that they use, will be showing forth the truth that is in them. We do not judge a Catholic teacher solely by his skill in teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic, and his ability to handle a class. We expect such skill, to be sure; but we are primarily interested as to whether he teaches reading, writing, and arithmetic, and manages his class in a manner so as to bring his pupils nearer to God. Pedagogical skill is necessary, but it is the spirit that counts most. This spirit is not acquired at the feet of masters who know not Christ. We therefore find that the various religious communities place great stress on the training of their teachers, and that, wherever feasible, they maintain their own normal schools.

These religious normal schools are centers of learning, and exercise their influence not only over small areas such as districts or counties, but over dioceses and states. Many of the teaching communities are inter-state in their activities, and the call of obedience not seldom carries with it into the new field of labor where rural or local conditions keep problems on a lower plane, higher urban standards. Even independent of the special teacher training, known to comprise all that is leading and best, the religious life involves a training and knowledge of oneself and consequently of human nature which can not be approached by the newer stereotyped presentation of courses in psychological study.

Aside from all other advantages possessed by the religious teacher over the secular teacher, it may be pointed out that membership in a teaching religious community, since it is permanent, necessarily in-

volves a progressive preparation for teaching. This is impossible for the ordinary lay teacher who must begin his work at an early age, and who ordinarily will not continue it for more than a few years. The great majority of public school teachers are under twenty-one. Of the 600,000 teachers in the United States, about 150,000 serve two years or less, and 300,000 not over four or five years. The average teaching life of a public school teacher is four and a half years. According to Dr. Strayer of Columbia University, 140,000 teachers, or one in five, left the profession in 1919, and one in every ten is young and inexperienced.¹⁹ Catholic teachers frequently begin teaching as young as public school teachers. They do not, however, leave the profession. The Catholic School System, therefore, has no "age problem." There are no available statistics, but it can safely be asserted that 75 per cent of the Catholic school teachers are above the age of twenty-five. Of this 75 per cent, at least 50 per cent are above the age of thirty.²⁰ There is no need of pointing out what this means in stabilizing education and in maintaining a high quality of instruction.

As may be seen from this review of our Illinois parochial schools, the institution is one of which we may justly be proud. The system secures for the various schools: freedom, cohesion, and unity: freedom in the selection of subjects, teachers, etc.; cohesion, for all are working with the same definite end in view; unity, for they are united on the necessity of religious education, on fundamental principles and methods, etc. The teachers, though belonging to various religious communities, all aim at true moral education; they all arrange their staffs of teachers and curricula as best suits their purposes. It may, therefore, be said that the day is far hence when every well-meaning citizen will cease to look with favor upon the private, parochial school.

CATHOLIC SECONDARY EDUCATION IN ILLINOIS

For several years past, educators and business men charged with the management of school funds have been much concerned about the growth of the high school system, or rather the increase in the expenditures for the public high school system. In 1890 one in ten of the population reaching high school age entered high school; in 1922 one in three of the population reaching high school age entered high school.²¹ It has been pointed out that during the twelve years

¹⁹ *Catechism of Catholic Education*, p. 33.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

²¹ *Digest of the Study of Publication Costs*, p. 7.

the greatest increase in high school enrollment has been in that of the third and fourth years, which not only means that more pupils are entering the high school, but that more are completing the course. While the cost of public elementary education has a little more than doubled in 1920 over 1910, college education something less than trebled, the cost of high school education has increased almost five times the amount expended in 1910.²² The per pupil current cost of high school education in Illinois rose from \$60.69 in 1912, to \$128.91 in 1922, an increase of \$68.22, or an increase of 112.4 per cent.²³ This increase in cost corresponds well to the increase in the enrollment, 111.92, for the ten-year period from 1911-1921, while the increase in the elementary enrollment was but 12.61 for the same period.²⁴ In Chicago the elementary public schools increased 30.2 per cent for the ten-year period, while the membership in the high schools of the city increased 145.1 per cent.²⁵ The cost per pupil in high schools in Chicago for 1912 was \$80.21; for 1922, \$124.26. The average increase in the number of high school buildings was one-half of one a year since 1912. To provide for the increase in membership, one high school building of a capacity of 2,780 pupils must be built annually, assuming that the old buildings retain their full school membership, which is hardly likely. Even at this, 17.2 per cent of high school pupils in the city of Chicago are without regular seats.²⁶

In view of such figures, it may be said that Catholic high schools, as a distinct institution in the American Catholic school system, are just beginning to develop. Elementary schools, under the impetus of bishops, and colleges, under the impetus of religious orders, are already well advanced. The time has now come for the high school to attain its full growth.

It may be pointed out with a certain pride that Catholic secondary education in Illinois has not only begun to develop but that it has attained considerable growth. The writer attempted to tabulate the number of secondary schools for the enrollment for ten-year periods from 1873 to 1923, as done for the elementary schools, Table 1, and the annual increase from 1913 to 1923, similar to Table 2, but with very discouraging results. The Table showed the same number of students in the colleges and academies for boys in the Archdiocese of

²² Ibid., Table IV, p. 11.

²³ Ibid., Table X, p. 19.

²⁴ Ibid., Table XI, p. 19.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 21.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 22.

Chicago for 1919 and 1920,²⁷ and also the same number of girls for these two years; likewise the years 1921, 1922, and 1923²⁸ give the same numbers without showing any increase, which, beyond doubt, took place. In Peoria also the same number of students is recorded for the years 1919, 1920, and 1921.²⁹ Aside from this difficulty, colleges and academies for boys are classed under one heading, and while it would be possible to separate the total number of students attending these two classes of schools by making an accurate count of the students in the various departments of the institutions, this is not possible in the case of academies for girls. Practically all academies are—or have been—maintaining an elementary department alongside of the high school department, and in no instance is there a distinction recorded in the total number of pupils enrolled. Such data were possible, however, for the current year, and the List of Catholic Secondary Schools of Illinois, with Enrollment, gives the results of inquiries and questionnaires sent to the various schools. With very few exceptions the questionnaires have been returned; where this was not done, the enrollment was estimated from the Official Catholic Directory for 1923 and the Directory for Catholic Schools and Colleges, 1921, and while the figures are therefore not absolutely correct, it is thought that they are as accurate as most data similarly collected. According to this list there are 6,707 boys and 9,879 girls in attendance at Catholic high schools and academies throughout the State, making a total of 16,586, while 4,348 pupils are enrolled in the elementary departments of the various academies. Taking the Illinois per pupil current cost of high school education for 1922, \$128.91, the cost of providing high school education for the 16,586 pupils in the Catholic high schools of the State would be \$2,138,101.26.

While the number is but 8.6 per cent of the total 1923 Catholic elementary school enrollment, the number of Catholic children attending high schools is considerably greater. It is to be remembered that the tuition is several times greater in the Catholic high school than in the parochial school, and that Catholic high schools are not everywhere established. We might, therefore, be safe in assuming that an additional 2 per cent are attending the public high schools of the State.

²⁷ See the Recapitulation at the end of the Diocese in the *Official Catholic Directory*, 1919 and 1920.

²⁸ See the Recapitulation at the end of the Diocese in the *Official Catholic Directory*, 1921, 1920, 1921.

²⁹ See the Recapitulation at the end of the Diocese in the *Official Catholic Directory*, 1919, 1920, 1921.

CATHOLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF ILLINOIS, WITH ENROLLMENT

1923 - 1924

ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO³⁰

	Boys	Pupils in	
		Girls	El. Dept.
Academy of Our Lady (a) (b) (c).....	...	292	110
Academy of Our Lady of Providence (a) (b).....	...	650	...
Academy of the Sacred Heart, Lake Forest (a) (c).....	...	63	25
Academy of the Sisters of the Resurrection.....	...	25	45
Convent of the Sacred Heart.....	...	66	125
De LaSalle Institute (a) (c).....	627	...	...
De LaSalle Institute, Joliet (a).....	176	...	...
De Paul University, High School Department (a).....	755	...	...
Holy Child High School, Waukegan (a).....	...	80	...
Holy Family Academy (a).....	...	93	205
Holy Ghost Institute, Techny (a).....	...	41	22
Holy Trinity High School (a).....	222	...	...
Immaculata High School (a).....	...	903	...
Josephinum High School (a) (c).....	...	120	39
Loretto Academy (a).....	...	117	167
Loyola Academy (a) (c).....	470	...	...
Mallinekrodt High School, Wilmette.....	...	46	...
Maria Immaculata Academy, Wilmette (a) (b) (c).....	...	36	...
Marywood School, Evanston (a) (b).....	...	136	68
Nazareth Academy, La Grange (a) (b).....	...	42	98
Notre Dame Academy and High School.....	...	200	...
Notre Dame Academy, Bourbonnais (a) (b).....	...	4	20
Our Lady Academy, Manteno (a) (b).....	...	27	188
Providence High School, Joliet (a).....	...	49	...
Rosary House, River Forest (a) (c).....	...	224	...
Sacred Heart Academy, Irwin (b).....	7	10	60
SS. Benedict and Scholastica Academy.....	...	40	...
St. Andrew's High School.....	...	40	...
St. Angela's Academy, Morris (b).....	...	39	57
St. Augustine's High School.....	32	68	...
St. Anne's Academy, St. Anne.....	...	80	...
St. Bernard's High School.....	...	68	...
St. Bridget's High School.....	...	56	...
St. Casimir's Academy.....	...	72	...

³⁰ Where no address is given, school is in Chicago.

St. Catherine's Academy	210	...
St. Columbkille's High School.....	24	...
St. Cyril's College Academy (a) (c).....	265	...
St. Elizabeth's High School.....	153	...
St. Francis Academy, Joliet (a) (d).....	191	...
St. Francis Xavier's Academy (a) (b) (c) (d).....	423	195
St. Gabriel's High School.....	2	20
St. Ignatius' High School (a) (c).....	610	...
St. James' High School.....	191	...
St. Joseph's Academy, Kankakee (a) (b) (d).....	49	283
St. Joseph's Institute, Joliet.....	176	...
St. Leo's High School.....	172	...
St. Louis Academy (a) (b).....	73	261
St. Mary's High School (a) (c).....	850	...
St. Mel's High School.....	465	...
St. Michael's High School (Boys).....	50	...
St. Michael's High School (Girls).....	70	...
St. Patrick's Academy (a) (b).....	200	250
St. Patrick's Academy, Momence.....	28	186
St. Patrick's Boys' High School.....	423	...
St. Patrick's Girls' High School.....	50	...
St. Patrick's Commercial High School (d).....	37	44
St. Philip's High School	240	532
St. Philomena's High School.....	10	37
St. Procopius College High School, Lisle (a) (c).....	175	...
St. Rita's College Academy (a) (b) (c).....	314	...
St. Scholastica's Academy	90	180
St. Stanislaus College Academy (a) (c).....	193	...
St. Thomas the Apostle High School (a) (d).....	120	...
St. Thomas Aquinas High School (b).....	100	100
St. Viator College Academy, Bourbonnais (a).....	234	...
Visitation High School (a).....	445	...
Additional Parochial High Schools given in the Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools.....		17

DIOCESE OF ALTON

Academy of St. Teresa, Decatur (a) (b) (d).....	50	100
Academy of the Sacred Heart, Springfield (a) (b).....	133	119
Cathedral High School, Alton.....	62	45
Nazareth Home High School, Alton (b).....	7	12
Quincy College Academy, Quincy (a).....	154	...
SS. Peter and Paul School, Alton (b).....	100	...
St. Isidore's High School, Farmersville (a) (b).....	30	32
St. Mary's Academy, Quincy (a) (d).....	90	165
St. Mary's Academy, Mt. Sterling (b).....	25	33
Ursuline Academy, Springfield (a) (b).....	126	150
Ursuline Academy of the Holy Family, Alton (a) (b)...	80	68
Additional Parochial High Schools given in the Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools.....		3

DIOCESE OF BELLEVILLE

Immaculate Conception Academy, Belleville (a) (b).....	...	100	...
St. Joseph's High School, Cairo (a) (b).....	26	50	...
St. Teresa's Academy, East St. Louis (a) (b).....	...	82	...
Additional Parochial High Schools given in the Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools.....			
			5

DIOCESE OF PEORIA

Academy of our Lady of the Sacred Heart, Peoria (a) (b) ...	196	20
Academy of St. Francis Xavier, Ottawa (a) (b).....	100	...
Corpus Christi College Academy, Galesburg.....	135	...
Holy Family Academy, Beaverville (a) (b).....	24	164
SS. Peter and Paul's School, Nauvoo (a) (b).....	12	21
Spalding Institute, Peoria (a).....	165	...
St. Bedes' College Academy, Peru (a).....	130	...
St. Joseph's Academy, Bloomington (a) (b).....	138	298
St. Joseph's Academy, Galesburg (b).....	85	265
St. Joseph's Academy, Philo (a) (b).....	14	12
St. Joseph's Academy, Rock Island (a).....	140	...
St. Lawrence Academy, Penfield (a) (b).....	19	15
St. Mary's Academy, Nauvoo (b).....	34	14
St. Mary's Academy, Utica (b).....	24	69
St. Mary's High School, Bloomington (a) (b).....	31	45
St. Mary's High School, Champaign (a) (b).....	14	30
St. Paul's High School, Odell (a) (b).....	26	30
Villa de Chantal, Rock Island (a).....	73	96
Additional Parochial High Schools given in the Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools.....		
		4

DIOCESE OF ROCKFORD

St. Mary's Academy(St. Charles.....	...	60	...
St. Mary's High School, Aurora.....	...	36	...
St. Mary's High School, Sterling (a).....	38	52	...
St. Raymond's Academy, St. Charles.....	30	...	...
St. Thomas High School, Rockford (a).....	113	167	...
Additional Parochial High Schools given in the Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools.....			
			2

(a) Accredited to the Illinois State University. *Report of the High School Visitor, 1922-1923.*

(b) Recognized by the Department of Springfield. *Illinois School Directory, 1923-1924, pp. 65, 66.*

(c) Accredited to the North Central Association. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the N. C. A., March, 1923.*

(d) Affiliated to the Catholic University, Washington. *Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools, 1921.*

The Most Reverend G. W. Mundelein, D. D., Archbishop of Chicago, has planned to organize a chain of twelve high schools for girls, serving all sections of the city and suburbs. Five of these have already been organized, respectively centralized: St. Mary's High School, Immaculata High School, and the Josephinum High School, Chicago; Mallinckrodt High School, Wilmette, and Holy Child High School, Waukegan.

The Official Catholic Directory does not list all the high schools, while the Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools is inclined to exaggerate the number of high schools of the various dioceses and therefore of the State. It includes in its totals various parochial high schools having but one teacher, and, very likely, but one or two years beyond the grades. It is assumed that such schools can not be classed with the four-year high schools, and therefore all parochial high schools which, apparently, maintain but one year beyond the grades have not been included in the list. It is possible, however, that in one or the other instance the school may since have developed into a more complete high school and that it is therefore eligible to mention on the list.³¹

As will be seen from the enumeration of the schools, 61, or 59 per cent of the total number are accredited to the State University;³² 39 are recognized by the Department of Public Instruction at Springfield as conforming to the requirements for four-year high schools of the State;³³ 14 are accredited to the North Central Association of Colleges

³¹ One hundred and four high schools are enumerated. The pupils in the additional 28 parochial high schools are, undoubtedly, included in the total parochial school enrollment.

³² See *Report of the High School Visitor*, 1922-1923.

³³ According to Section 96, Par. 4, General School Law of the State of Illinois, a "recognized" high school is "any public school providing a course of two or more years of work approved by the Superintendent of Public Instruction." Certificates of recognition are issued to public two-year, three-year, or four-year high schools applying for such recognition and conforming to the requirements established. Private schools are inspected upon request and certificates are issued to those which conform to standards. Such schools have by law the right regarding admission of their graduates to examinations for teachers' certificates. *Illinois School Directory*, 1923-1924, p. 67.

and Secondary Schools,³⁴ and 5 are affiliated to the Catholic University of Washington.³⁵ Membership in the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools is considered a label of superiority, but the prestige which it exercises should not be exaggerated. The standards are high, and in one or the other case they stand for outward symbols which may exist and do exist in many instances where the actual ability which they are supposed to stand for does not exist, and vice versa. It is, therefore, beyond doubt that while the number of Illinois Catholic high schools accredited to the Association is but 14, the degree of scholarship maintained at many other of the unaccredited schools—unaccredited either because they have not seen fit to seek accrediting or because they have not been able to meet one of the standards—may rank just as high.

The Catholic school is free to set up and control its own traditions. It is, therefore, a splendid laboratory for educational experimentation. Instead of running "true to type" each may develop an individuality of its own. While the public school must receive every student who applies for admission, and must offer a general curriculum designed to meet the individual needs of each, the private institution is free to restrict its activities to a particular field. Hence there is less danger of that deplorable condition—overloading and overcrowding—so frequently criticized by educators.

CATHOLIC HIGHER EDUCATION IN ILLINOIS

The crowning point in the Catholic system of education lies in its colleges and universities. Of the twenty-two Catholic universities listed under the various dioceses of the country, Illinois boasts of two, Loyola and DePaul. The *New College Blue Book*³⁶ lists twenty-four

³⁴ The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools is a private organization founded twenty-eight years ago by a group of men who represented a small number of institutions situated within a very limited territory. The Association at present deals with nearly two hundred colleges and universities, and more than fifteen hundred secondary schools. Nineteen states are included in the Association's territory: Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Wyoming. The Association is the most generally recognized standardizing agency in the North Central States—if it does not rank first in prestige in the entire United States. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the N. C. A.*

³⁵ *Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools*, 1921.

³⁶ *The College Blue Book*, 1923., pp. 50-65, also 366-367. See under *Junior Colleges* for Mallineckrodt College, pp. 314-315, also 366-367.

colleges in Illinois, among which there are five Catholic institutions:

Quincy College and Seminary, Quincy.

Rosary College, Chicago.

St. Francis Xavier College, Chicago.

St. Procopius College, Lisle.

St. Viator's College, Bourbonnais.

St. Bede's College and Seminary, Peru, is also eligible to mention.

Our two Catholic universities—Loyola and DePaul—were established in 1909 and 1907 respectively. Both universities are located in Chicago on the North Side, though both have downtown centers for the convenience of students in other sections of the city. These universities have the usual departments of art and science, law, and medicine. Following the example of the leading secular universities of the country, both Loyola and DePaul have established a home study department. In this manner students who are unable to take up residence courses may enjoy the benefits of higher education by means of correspondence and receive credit toward academic degrees; the number of credits which may be offered for courses taken *in absentia* is, however, limited. A special feature of Loyola University is the School of Sociology, the only Catholic school of its kind in the country. The School of Sociology and St. Ignatius College form the Department of Arts and Sciences and as such it is a member of the North Central Association. For the present year Loyola has 2,472 students registered in the University and employs 131 professors and instructors. The progress and future of the University may be measured by its growth in the number of students, professors, and buildings. In 1922 the Administration Building was erected and in 1923 the Gymnasium, undoubtedly the largest building of its kind attached to any Catholic institution in the country. Plans are under construction for additional buildings, particularly for a library which it at present housed in the Administration Building. De Paul University numbers 2,356 students and 97 professors and instructors. In November, 1923, the university celebrated its Silver Jubilee, and on that occasion the new building for the College of Liberal Arts was dedicated.

Culminating Catholic endeavors in the educational and ecclesiastical field for the Archdiocese of Chicago, as well as for Illinois in general, are represented in the great institution which the Most Reverend Archbishop is creating at Area, a short distance northwest of Chicago. There is no doubt but that this institution will soon become one of the greatest educational foundations in the world. Catholics throughout the country, but particularly those in Illinois, may take just pride in this university and seminary which offers much greater

opportunity for the replenishment of the priesthood and for the raising of standards of education and culture in the Middle West.

Favorable mention might also be made of the various religious seminaries, novitiates, and normal training schools previously referred to, but the limitation placed upon this article will not permit. A mere enumeration of these institutions in the summary may therefore suffice.

SUMMARY

Parochial Schools	546 *
Pupils in Parochial Schools.....	192,413 *
Pupils in Elementary Departments of Academies	4,348 Total..196,761 **
Teachers engaged in Parochial Schools: Brothers..77; Sisters..4,494; Lay..101.....	Total.. 4,672 *
Institutional Schools	14; Pupils 3,918 *
High Schools for Boys.....	22; Pupils .....5,984..... **
High Schools and Academies for Girls	63; Pupils .....8,536..... **
High Schools for Boys and Girls	19; Pupils .....2,181..... **
Total number of	
Total number of High Schools.104; Pupils	16,701 **
Parochial High Schools not included in list, but given in Directory of Colleges and Schools.....	28 ***
Total number of young people in Parochial, Institutional, and High Schools.....	217,380
Seminaries	1; Students 630 ***
Religious Seminaries	7; Students 336 ***
Religious and Normal Train- ing Schools	22; Students 1,040 ***
Colleges for Men.....	4; Students 327 ****
Colleges for Women.....	2; Students 299 **
Faculty	99 ***
Universities	2; Students 4,828 **
Faculty	228 **
Religious Communities engaged in the work of teaching: Fathers..15; Brothers..2; Sisters..54.....	Total.. 71

* Official Catholic Directory for 1923.

** Data for 1923-1924.

*** Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools, 1921.

**** Partly estimated.

SISTER JOHANNITA BUEHLER.

Wilmette, Ill.

FATHER DE SMET—HISTORY MAKER

Presidential Address of Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., at Meeting of the Jesuit Historical Society of the Middle West.

The last sentence of the last letter ever written by Father De Smet reads as follows: "In my sickly moments I collect materials which may be of great service for the future history of the Missouri Province." The date of the letter is May 12, 1873. Eleven days later the great missionary was dead.

The significance for the present occasion of the words just cited may be said to lie in the circumstance that they reveal the personal interest taken by Father De Smet in a very practical side of the historian's profession. In the course of his eventful career he had helped to make history; and as the day of his earthly life darkened under the shadows of the inevitable night, he busied himself with gathering material that might enable some Jesuit of a later generation to tell the story of the Province which he loved so well and with which his own life story is forever identified. Not only did he collect together scattered manuscript sources for a history of the Missouri Province; he began to compile such a history on his own account, leaving behind him an English narrative of some eighty pages on the pioneer struggles of the Missouri Jesuits. I quote his own words: "Whilst confined to my room by sickness I take great pleasure in my leisure moments in collecting whatever I can concerning the history of the Province. I have commenced at the beginning of our leaving Belgian in 1821, of our coming to Missouri in 1823 with all its traveling incidents and digging the first spadeful of earth on the 31st day of July, 1823, the Feast day of St. Ignatius, of the Novitiate at Florissant. I have already written eighty pages from notes in the archives of the Province, from personal recollections, and from such other information as I am able to obtain" This venture of Father De Smet into the field of history is preserved in the archives of the Province of Missouri, being the earliest English record we possess of the circumstances which attended the coming of the Jesuits to the Middle West in 1823.

Between the distinguished Jesuit, the fiftieth anniversary of whose death occurs this year, and the members of the Jesuit Historical Association of the Middle West a bond of fellowship over and above their membership in the same Province of the Society of Jesus is thus discovered in their common interest in a certain field of study.

Not that Father De Smet was in any characteristic way an historian or even a student of history. He was essentially a man of action, and his busily crowded career with its constant pre-occupation with the present left him scant opportunity to delve into the records of the past. But he had in certain ways the historian's equipment,—wide human interest, skill in collecting and sifting data on any subject that engaged his interest, and above all a gift of literary presentation which probably would alone have brought him distinction had he confined his life-work to the field of authorship. And so, looking back over the years we may with every propriety acclaim Peter John De Smet as one who, were he alive to-day, would with a more than ordinary impulse of his splendidly sympathetic nature wish God-speed to the Jesuit Historical Association of the Middle West.

Though Father De Smet did not engage in historical research or write history in any notable way, he did something better—he *made* history, and it is a history-maker that I should like to present him to you today.

Major Hiram Martin Chittenden and Albert Talbot Richardson, joint editors of the only critical edition we possess of Father De Smet's letters, do not hesitate to characterize him as "an august figure in our national history." It is a large tribute to pay to any American, but it is a tribute that rests securely on a broad basis of fact. No Hall of Fame, though we must not overlook the statue reared to his memory in his Belgian birthplace, claims his likeness today in marble or bronze; but he is undeniably enshrined in that more authentic Hall of Fame which is the lasting reverence and affection of persons discriminating enough to recognize under whatever disguises the true heroes of our national greatness and to acclaim them accordingly.

The grounds that justify the designation of Father De Smet as an "august figure in our national history" are perhaps principally three: his letters, considered as a revelation to the public at home and abroad of all that was significant in the vast new country lying between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean; his missionary work on behalf of the Indians especially of the Pacific Northwest; and his activities as intermediary, generally in an official capacity, between the Indians of the West and the Federal Government.

The usual designation of Father De Smet's published writings as letters is something of a misnomer. His so-called letters are not so much examples of conventional epistolary correspondence as they are carefully drawn up and often elaborate dissertations or sketches

covering interesting phases of the life of the old West. Considered as literature and apart from the body of geographical and other information which they contain, the De Smet letters merit a high degree of praise. There can be no question that their author possessed literary gifts above the common. It has often been observed of men of action that when they take the pen in hand they reveal at times an unexpected freshness and vigor of expression. This is certainly true of Father De Smet. His literary manner shows a virility and directness that reflect faithfully his own robust and manly nature. In the art especially of accurate and vivid portrayal of nature, animate or inanimate, his writing leaves little to be desired. His descriptive power is indeed his chief literary asset, and to it his letters chiefly owe whatever they possess of effectiveness and charm. Hardly any feature in the physical background against which the life of the old West and Northwest was set is left unnoticed by this keen observer. The buffalo, the bear, the mountain lion, the antelope, the wolf, the polecat, the prairie dog, the rattlesnake, the prairie fire, the forest fire, the tornado, the aurora borealis and Rocky Mountain scenery of whatever kind—all are portrayed with accurate and often graphic touch. A favorite topic of description with Father De Smet was the Missouri River. He knew the noble stream as few white men ever came to know it, having travelled frequently on it in canoe or steamboat from the great falls to the mouth. His attitude towards it was one of deep personal affection. Its snags and sawyers, the dizzy swirl of its yellow and turbid waters, its varying moods, agreeable and disagreeable, the splendid growths of timber that line its banks for hundreds of miles above the mouth—he has pictured it all with a pen as sympathetic as it is true to fact. No Missouri River pilot, it has been said, could have indicated with more correctness, certainly not with more vividness, the perils that beset early navigation on the great water highway of the West. And what he did for the Missouri Father De Smet did in lesser degree for the Columbia. Sources, rapids, the inspiring scenery that lies along its course, and the dangerous bar at its mouth are all touched off with his usual descriptive skill. Rivers, indeed, with the intimate part they played in the drama of frontier life, seem to have made a particular appeal to Father De Smet's imagination. His letters picture for us, besides the Missouri and Columbia, the Colorado, the Athabasca, the Saskatchewan, the Platte, the Yellowstone, and other streams of minor note.

Father De Smet's happy handling of descriptive themes was of course largely due to the fact that he had an open eye for all the

interesting aspects of the new lands through which he passed. A love of nature, an amateur's interest in the fauna and flora that come under one's observation are not necessary details in the equipment of the successful missionary. And yet we find with surprising frequency the missionary playing the role of naturalist and even making noteworthy contributions to the world's fund of scientific knowledge. The seventeenth and eighteenth century Jesuits brought to the notice of the European public more than one of the great natural resources of the New World. Their nineteenth century successors carried on the tradition. Father William Stanton, to cite one instance, was an enthusiast in entomology. He did more than play with the science; he made discoveries of distinct value within its range, both in the Philippines and in British Honduras, where he contracted the mortal illness that brought him to an all too early grave. As to Father De Smet, a keen eye for the wondrous or beautiful in landscape and scenery, and a lively interest in the plant and animal life of the practically unexplored localities through which he passed on his western journies were marked traits in his personality. At Florissant in the twenties he was laying the foundations of his scientific knowledge of later years. Here he found himself filling the post of curator, to use his own phrase, of Father Dzierzynski's museum, the latter being Superior of the Jesuit Mission of Maryland, to which jurisdiction the Missouri Jesuits were attached up to 1831. What or where was Father Dzierzynski's museum, we are not told, though no doubt it was a collection of the old-fashioned type featured principally by mineral specimens, herbaria and mounted insects. Father De Smet proved an efficient curator. In 1827 he sent to the museum seeds of Missouri trees and plants, without however, attempting to identify them by name, as he lacked books for the purpose. He sent other things also, as a specimen of some rare mineral picked up on the Missouri shore near Charbonniere Bluffs, a bit of *pierre aimant* (lodestone) from the land of the Osage and salt from the "great saline" of the same tribe, "which you did from the earth and which requires no preparation." In 1829 he wrote to Father Dzierzynski: "We lately discovered at a short distance from our establishment [Florissant] a place where the ginseng grows in great abundance. If your Reverence be acquainted with the nature of this plant, I have no doubt but that you will deem it an important discovery. I send you a sample of it, more at your Reverence's pleasure."

After this manner, then, did Father De Smet acquire in his young days an amateur's interest, for it was never anything more, in nature

study in its more engaging phases. This interest he developed more and more, as his travels through the Great Plains, the Rocky Mountain region and the Pacific Northwest brought him the opportunity to make known to the public the salient natural features of what were then all but unknown parts of the United States. In 1838 at Council Bluffs he was taking meteorological observations with instruments furnished him by J. Nicollet, a distinguished French scientist and explorer in the service of the United States Government, who commended the accuracy of the missionarie's carefully tabulated work and used it freely in his own published reports.

Father De Smet often turned to map-making as a means of embodying in permanent form the great mass of geographical and topographical detail which he picked up in the course of his travels. While not marked by any degree of technical finish, these maps will always be important historically as being among the earliest attempts made in the field of Western cartography. In 1851, at the request of Donald D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian Affairs for the St. Louis Department, he drafted a map of the Western country for the Government. His maps of the sources of Clark's Fork of the Columbia are particularly interesting pieces of work. Commodore Wilson of the United States Navy, who had himself published a map of the Oregon country, commends one of these sketches in a letter to the Jesuit as supplying the lacunae which his own map showed in regard to the Flathead country. Probably the most interesting of the De Smet maps are those showing the Yellowstone Park region, with many of the important features of that great wonderland, the geysers, for example, clearly indicated. Incidentally, it may be noted that Father De Smet's French for geyser (nearly all his map-nomenclature is in that language), is *fountaine bouillant*, "boiling fountain." These sketches of the upper reaches of the Yellowstone Valley are all the more noteworthy in that they antedate by some twenty years the Washburn expedition of 1870, which first brought the natural wonders of that region to public notice and started the agitation for making it a national park. The description of this same region in a De Smet letter of 1851 is characterized by Chittenden and Richardson as the most complete early description of the subject extant." It would indeed have been fortunate," say these authors, "if the park had been set apart on the lines he describes rather than as it was, for it would then have embraced much territory, particularly the Jackson Hole country, which, it is generally conceded, should have been a part of the Park and which is now largely included in recent forest reservations." In this connection it will be of interest to

cite a newspaper statement of date early in the fifties: "It must be gratifying to Father De Smet to know that when that country shall have been peopled by an industrious population, his explorations will be spoken of as his predecessors now are in the valley watered by the Father of Rivers and upon the borders of Lake Superior."

Not all the geographical and other information which Father De Smet embodied in his letters was acquired by him at first hand. He managed also to secure valuable data from trustworthy informants, having in his frequent journeying back and forth over the Western country come into contact with and in many cases formed intimate friendships with many of the picturesque figures of the pioneer west. The list of his acquaintances of this type included John McLaughlin, the "Grand Old Man of Oregon," James Bridger, typical frontiersman and founder of Fort Bridger on the Oregon Trail, Major Alexander Culbertson, fur-trader and founder of the historic posts, Fort Benton and Fort Union, E. T. Denig, Assiniboine trader, Robert Meldrum, Crow interpreter, Zephyr Rencontre and C. E. Galpin, Sioux interpreters, F. F. Gerard, Sioux trader, John Grey, hunter, Captain La Barge, Missouri River pilot for thirty years, Captain John Mullen, U. S. A., road-builder, and Robert Campbell, Thomas Fitzpatrick and Andrew Drips, all leading figures in the halcyon days of the fur trade. Many of these furnished Father De Smet particulars of value regarding the Indian tribes or the topography of the country. Bridger, for instance, appears to have been his informant in regard to the Yellowstone Park region, which, as far as I have been able to ascertain, Father De Smet never personally visited.

The name of Jim Bridger is one to conjure with in the history of the old frontier. He guided a party of sightseeing friends to the wonderland of northwestern Wyoming decades before the first Government expedition penetrated thither, while the establishment in 1843 of his port on the Oregon Trail to furnish supplies to the passing emigrants was a turning point as significant as any in the development of the West. He was moreover the first white man, as far as known, to look upon the waters of the Great Salt Lake. Bridger entrusted the education of his halfbreed children to Father De Smet, who put them to school at St. Charles, Missouri.

What gives Father De Smet's letters importance from an historical point of view is the circumstance especially that through their medium thousands of readers in Europe and America acquired their first knowledge of the great unopened country west of the Mississippi. Travellers and explorers from Lewis and Clark on had been gradually

unfolding in their published reports the outstanding features of this vast inland empire which (up to the line of the Rockies at least) had been acquired by the United States in the Louisiana Purchase; but in the forties, when Father De Smet's letters were first given to the world, it was still largely a land of mystery. The letters did much to lift the veil. The prairies of Kansas, the high arid plains of western Nebraska and Wyoming, the interlacing valleys and defiles of the Rocky Mountain region, the great fresh water lakes of Idaho and western Montana and the marvelously promising lands of the upper and lower Columbia valleys were themes of absorbing interest which the reader could find filling the pages of the De Smet letters. There too one was introduced to the Oregon Trail, the historic highway par excellence of our national history, over which through two eventful decades poured the sturdy emigrant stock that was to build up the Pacific Northwest and California.

But the part which Father De Smet played as herald to his generation of nature's largeness and wonders up and down the untraveled West is of minor significance as an episode in American history compared to the work he attempted and in part accomplished on behalf of the Indians. Here his achievement assumes all the proportions of a distinct national service. From his lifelong efforts and labors directed towards the humanizing and Christianizing of the Indian tribes of the West resulted a degree of amelioration in the condition of the latter that re-acted favorably on conditions generally west of the Mississippi. The Indians directly, the nation indirectly were the beneficiaries of the long years of humanitarian and religious service on behalf of the former in which he was engaged. Here, then, was the outstanding lifework of De Smet. The connotative richness of the certain names is obvious. Napoleon inevitably suggests military achievement just as Edison suggests scientific achievement and Ford industrial achievement. In like manner the name De Smet spells missionary endeavor and successful endeavor at that on behalf of the native redmen of the United States. Sympathy for the Indian and a determination to promote his welfare in all possible directions were the main inspirational motives of his career and it is chiefly as a friend of the Indian that he will live in history.

Father De Smet's missionary career was but a phase in the continuance of a great tradition. The religious order to which he belonged had identified itself in preceding centuries with apostolic labor among the native tribes of the New World. Moreover, the Missouri Mission, of which he was one of the founders, was set up

primarily for the conversion of the Indians of the West, being the first Indian Mission established by the Society of Jesus in the nineteenth century. The Belgian Jesuit had therefore years and even centuries of encouragement and inspiration behind him when, at the instance of superiors, he took in hand the winning of the Rocky Mountain Indians to the cause of Christ.

Well nigh all of Father De Smet's life in the United States was spent in St. Louis, which became accordingly the base of operations for the entire series of his missionary undertakings. Around this outgrowth of the Eighteenth century trading post set up by the French on the right bank of the mid-Mississippi gathered in time all the romance and glamor of the frontier life of the Old West. Almost without exception every organized attempt in the pioneer period to penetrate the wilderness that lay toward the setting sun started from St. Louis. From here went forth Lewis and Clark on their immortal expedition to the mouth of the Columbia; Manual Lisa on his fur-trading journeys to the Big Horn Country and the headwaters of the Missouri; Lieut Zebulon Pike on his famous exploring trip that gave the first impetus to the Santa Fe trade; Astor's overlanders on their tragic journey to the shores of the Pacific; and Lieut. Long on his Upper Missouri expedition, from which he brought back the fable of the Great American Desert, a fable that it took more than one generation of American to unlearn. In a word, almost every epic of adventure that marked the passing of the old frontier is written around St. Louis. The Santa Fe and Oregon Trails struck out from Independence and Westport; but their real starting point lay behind them at St. Louis.

In the summer of 1840 Father De Smet, after a journey of several months from St. Louis, gazed for the first time on the snows of the Rockies. He had come thither over the Oregon Trail on a reconnaissance to determine the prospects of missionary enterprise in the land of the Flatheads. The story of the efforts of that mysteriously predestined tribe to secure Catholic missionaries from St. Louis is an unforgettable episode in the history of the West. De Smet met a large contingent of the Flatheads on the far side of the Continental Divide, and without actually entering their country satisfied himself that a beginning of resident missionary work should be made among them. The next year, 1841, saw him pushing westward with a party of missionaries, again over the Oregon Trail, and crossing and recrossing the main ridge of the Rockies until on their Pacific side, in what is now Western Montana, he found himself in the heart of the Flathead country. Here, on the banks of the Bitter Root River, in

a locality traversed thirty-six years before by Lewis and Clark, he established St. Mary's Mission, the earliest center of Catholic missionary effort among the Indians of the Pacific Northwest. Other tribes were in turn evangelized—Coeur d'Alenes, Kalispels, Skoyelpi, Flatbows, Okinagans and Kutenai. The 49th parallel was crossed by the missionaries and the Faith carried to tribes in the forest-fastnesses of what is now British Columbia. Father De Smet himself undertook a highly perilous journey that brought him, for certain stretches on snowshoe and dog-sled, towards the northern sources of the Columbia, back across the Continental Divide, and through the basins of the Saskatchewan and the Athabasca, Fort Augustus on the site of the modern town of Edmonton in Alberta being visited on the way. So was the Cross securely planted by De Smet and his associates among the redmen of the American Northwest. From his day to our own Jesuit workers have never been wanting to carry on the work which they inaugurated. The Flatheads, Kalispels and Coeur d'Alenes, typical mountain tribes, are being ministered to even now by the same Society of Jesus that brought their forefathers under the yoke of Christ.

But the tribes that ranged the Great Plains east of the Rocky Mountains shared also in the apostolic ministrations of De Smet. Almost without exception they severally claim him as the first priest to bear them the gospel tidings. His baptisms are the earliest known to have been administered among the Crows, the Gros Ventres, the Assiniboines, the Cheyennes, the Aricaras, the Arapahoes, and the Poncas.

Marquette felt himself compensated beyond measure for the appalling hardships of his missionary journeys by the baptism of a single Indian child. Measured by this standard De Smet's spiritual consolations must have been abundant. His baptisms of Indians (the recipients in most cases being children in danger of death) ran into the thousands. In the summer of 1851, when he attended the great council near Fort Laramie, his administrations at the various trading posts on the Missouri and elsewhere in the Indian country totaled 1,586. Among the tribes that shared his ministry in the course of this journey were the Brulé and Ogalalla.

The establishment of a Sioux mission was a lifelong ambition of Father De Smet and the last journey which he undertook to the Upper Missouri, that of 1870, had for its object the selection of a suitable site for the Sioux mission post he was hoping to set up in the immediate future. The venture was never realized in his lifetime, though in 1871 Fathers Kuppens and De Meester spent some

months among Sitting Bull's people near the mouth of the Grand River in what is now North Dakota in an unsuccessful attempt to make a permanent residence. It would delight Father De Smet, were he alive today, to see the splendidly organized Catholic missions now being conducted for his beloved Sioux on the Pine Ridge and Rose Bud Reservations of South Dakota.

An so, in the middle decades of the last century, both east and west of the Rockies, the native children of the soil were brought within range of the ministry of the great Blackrobe from St. Louis. We have already noted that the Catholic missionary movement in their behalf, to which Father De Smet gave an initial impulse powerful enough to maintain it in vigor up to this date, bears all the character of a national service of the first order. To have done for the Indians what was done by De Smet and his successors is, we may confidently say, an achievement splendid enough to merit for its authors a foremost place in the roll call of our country's heroes.

One phase of Father De Smet's dealings with the Indians deserves particular notice, for more than anything else in his career it set him in the public eye and made him in an especial way a national figure. This was the role he played on frequent occasions as official intermediary in the interests of peace between the Indian tribes and the United States Government. In 1839, while residing at Council Bluffs, he began his remarkable activities in this direction in a privately undertaken peace mission to the Yankton Sioux, who had been showing themselves hostile to his Potawatomi flock. The remarkable ascendancy which he acquired over many of his tribes, particularly the Sioux, soon came under the notice of the Government, which on repeated occasions solicited his services as agent in its negotiations with disaffected Indian groups on both side of the Rocky Mountains. In 1852 Senator Benton declared that Father De Smet could do more for the Indians, "more for their welfare and keeping them in peace and friendship with the United States than an army with banners." In 1858 the missionary was invited by the Secretary of War at General Harney's request to accompany the latter in his expedition to Utah, nominally as chaplain, but actually that he might use his influence with the Indians along the way. Having resigned his chaplaincy on the abrupt termination of the Utah expedition, he was later in the same year again invited by the Secretary of War to join General Harney's forces now occupied in putting down serious outbreaks among the mountain tribes of the Pacific Northwest. Father De Smet's services on this occasion were noteworthy and the amicable relations promptly established between the Indians and whites were

ascribed by the military authorities largely to his magic intervention. But the most notable incidents in his career as peace-maker were those connected with his negotiations with the Sioux. In 1864 and again in 1868 his services were employed by the Government to prevent hostile operations on the part of that bellicose tribe. His success on the latter occasion, when he penetrated without an escort to the Sioux camp on the Powder River, was his crowning achievement in the cause of peace. He was informed by the Indians that no white man could have made the hazardous attempt without forfeiting his life. All together, the episode is second to none for dramatic and inspirational quality in the romance of the old frontier. The picture of the great-hearted missionary, robed in his religious garb and going forward to meet the vengeful Sioux, without other arms or protection than a banner having on one side the name of Jesus and on the other the image of the Virgin Mother, is one which the brush of the painter might well immortalize. It is a remarkable fact attested by abundant contemporary evidence, that Father De Smet had but to show himself among the Indians of whatever tribe and in almost preternatural respect and reverence for him seized these undisciplined children of nature.

Captain La Barge, famous as a Missouri River pilot and Father De Smet's lifelong friend, relates that on one occasion when the latter was a passenger on his steamboat, a band of Blackfeet Sioux in hostile mood was discovered hovering along the river bank. Father De Smet asked to be landed that he might quiet them. La Barge objected, fearing for the Father's safety, but as the latter insisted, he finally acquiesced. At the end of the interview the Sioux bade the Father be seated on a blanket, the four corners of which they seized and thus bore him in triumph to the river bank. It was with every reason that Thurlow Weed wrote in introducing him to President Lincoln, "no white man knows the Indians as Father De Smet, nor has any man their confidence in the same degree."

It is important in any account of Father De Smet to indicate the close connection in which he stood to the life of the early West. Emerson Hough, than whom no one has written more picturesquely on the subject, gave it as his opinion that the chapters of our national history most highly charged with inspiration and emotional appeal are those which tell the story of the old frontier. As a matter of fact, no war in which we ever engaged brought into play the finer traits of American character to the same extent as did that masterful and triumphant wrestling with the wilderness. The colorful, the romantic, the pathetic, the tragic, the heroic of every degree,—they

all entered as elements into the great drama that was played out on the stage of the trans-Mississippi country from the day that Lewis and Clark pierced the heart of it in their memorable expedition to the day when arteries of steel for travel and traffic first knit ocean to ocean and the frontier as a phenomenon of the western trend of our national development disappeared forever. An it is this drama in which Father De Smet takes his place as a highly interesting and by no means inconspicuous participant. Traders, trappers, voyageurs, adventurers, gold-seekers, Rocky Mountain guides, Missouri-River pilots, Indian fighters of the United States Army and the Indians themselves,—these were the types with whom he was brought into frequent and intimate association. If he did not come to know certain other early western types as the cow-boy, the cattle king, the rancher and the homesteader, it was only because these came on the stage at a period when he himself had passed on.

To realize how great a span in the development of the West is bridged over by Father De Smet's missionary career, we have only to recall the various methods of transportation which he saw in his day and of which he himself had personal experience. He used saddle-horse, ox-team, canoe, stage-coach and railroad. He lived indeed to see the completion of the first great trunk line linking up the Missouri River with the Pacific Coast, traveling over it in 1868 as far as Cheyenne. The story, then, of western growth is distinctly interwoven with the missionary experiences of Father De Smet. The circumstance adds nothing to the intrinsic dignity and merit of those experiences; but it lends to the personal history of the missionary an element of interest, not to say fascination, which serves to rivet attention in quarters where his purely religious achievements make no particular appeal.

In bringing this address to a close, we may be permitted to repeat that we are well within the facts when we follow the biographers of Father De Smet in designating him as "an august figure in our national history." In various ways, some of which we have attempted to indicate, he lent his energies to the upbuilding of the American Commonwealth, of which it was one of his cherished privileges to call himself a citizen. Through his letters, his life-long activities, missionary and otherwise, on behalf of the Indians, and his frequent negotiations between them and the Federal Government in the cause of peace, he made a contribution of no small value to the agencies that between them achieved the making of the Great West. But he

was not consciously a history-maker nor did he seek through history-making to impress his name on the records of the day. He simply sought to find in the day's work opportunity for realizing the Jesuit ideal of the greater glory of God; and in the persistency with which he pursued that ideal through a long period of years is to be found the chief glory that hangs around his name.

(REV.) GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

St. Louis.

GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS

Spanish American Bibliography.—The student of Spanish American history, in which is interwoven so much of interest to Catholics, will find an important guide to the literature of his subject in Cecil K. Jones' "Hispanic American Bibliographies." Issued in instalments in successive numbers of the *Hispanic American Review* during 1920 and 1921, this bibliography has now been published in book form (Baltimore, 1922. 200 pp.) with critical notes on the sources by the eminent Chilean authority, José Torebio Medina. The work is arranged geographically, twenty-one countries of Central and South America being represented, including the West Indies. The scope of the work covers biographies, histories of literature, and general books of reference. Mr. Medina says, in his introductory note, "It is the compiler's intention to publish as a second part a more comprehensive and intensive discussion of the material listed and to attempt to express therein a critical evaluation of the most important titles." In reference to native publications of the colonial period the author remarks: "The restrictions and prohibitions imposed upon colonial publishers, as expressed in the 'Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de Indias'—especially the requirement that manuscripts treating American questions should be submitted to the *Consejo de Indias* for approval—strongly favored publication in the mother country. . . . The importance of the religious orders as colonizing agencies makes the record of their activities an invaluable source of information for the bibliography and biography of the early period."

The "Critical Notes on Sources," translated by Mr. Jones from Medina's "Biblioteca Hispano-Americana, 1493-1810," is the most readable portion of the work. The earliest bibliography treating of Spanish American history in general was that of the Spanish priest Nicolás Antonio y Bernal (1617-1684). The works of several Catholic ecclesiastics figure among the titles of later bibliographies of note. But of most interest to Catholics are the titles of works dealing with the labors of missionaries in the regions of the New World under Spanish rule. The Jesuits are represented by the works of Ribadeneyra (1608), Alegambe (1643), Nathan Southwell (1676), Clavigero (1780), Maneiro (1791), Caballero (1814-16), and, far surpassing his predecessors, De Backer's "Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus" (1855-61), of which a much enlarged edition was issued in ten folio volumes by the late Father C. Sommervogel (1890-1909).

A bibliography of the Dominicans by Fernández (1611) has two chapters devoted to the authors of the *New World*; but the field is better covered by Quétif and Echard (1721). Bibliography of the Augustinians began with Herrera (1644), who was followed by Maldonado (1651), Portillo y Aguilar (1732) who gave a catalogue of 983 authors of the Order, and Moral (1882) who is especially full for the Philippines. The earliest bibliography of note for the Franciscans was San Antonio de Salamanca (1732), followed by Marcellino da Civezza (1879). An incomplete bibliography of the Mercedarians is that of Gari y Siumell (1875).

We may call attention to several works on the bibliography of the monastic orders that have appeared since Medina issued his "Biblioteca." Cabral edited a bibliography of the Benedictines in 1889, new edition in 1906. The National Library of Chile issued in 1891 a catalogue of manuscripts relating to the early Jesuits of Chile. A Sulpician bibliography by Bertrand appeared in three volumes in 1900.

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A California Mission in 1792.—Archibald Menzies' journal, which he kept while accompanying Captain George Vancouver on the latter's famous voyage around the world in 1790-1794, is appearing in extracts in the California Historical Society Quarterly (San Francisco, January, 1924). In November of 1792 members of the expedition paid a visit to the Mission at Santa Clara and were hospitably entertained by the Fathers. The Journal thus describes the Mission at that time:

"The night's repose contributed much to dispurse the pain and fatigue occasioned by the long ride of the preceding day, and after a hearty breakfast the Fathers continued by every means they could think of to amuse them; they first led them to see the Church, which is much larger, better finished and more abundantly supplied with ornaments than that of San Francisco. They then showed them the economy and general arrangement of the Mission which is built in a square form similar to that of San Francisco, one side of which is occupied by young Indians who are educated in the Christian faith, and brought up to different occupations useful to the Settlement. Another side is set apart for manufacturing grey cloth for the Fathers, and a kind of coarse cloth and blankets, for covering the Indians belonging to the Mission and in the manufactory. Women are chiefly employed. The third side is a large granary well stored, and the fourth side is occupied by the Fathers themselves; but they have other spacious granaries apart from these buildings in order

to secure by this means a certain resource in case of any accident happening to either by fire or otherwise. These granaries are two stories high and kept in the very best order; they are well stored with every kind of grain excepting barley and oats which they do not cultivate in this country. Their pease and wheat are of an excellent quality, the latter is a fine full bodied grain and generally rewards their labor with a return of five and twenty and sometimes even thirty fold. They have large gardens well supplied with every kind of useful vegetables and corn, most of the European fruit trees, such as Apricots, Peaches, Pears, Vines, Currants, Gooseberries, etc. These Fruits succeeded here better than in any of their Northern Settlements in this country on account, as was supposed, of its inland condition. They also rear hemp, which flourishes well and is of a good strong quality."

Further on we read: "The Missions are always a little removed from the Garrisons and are generally situated in commodious fertile spots, within fifteen or twenty leagues of one another, and round them the whole agriculture of the country is carried on under the care and management of the sagacious Fathers, who have their plows, harrows and teams with oxen industriously employed, and who regulate the rural economy of the farms in all their various branches and dependencies, as well as the more solemn duties of their avocations. The painful constancy with which these abstemious Fathers maintain the religious observances of the Church of Rome in this distant region is a great proof of their indefatigable zeal and uncommon fortitude. . . . Reared up in the paths of virtue and morality under the mild auspices of those worthy Fathers. . . . Proselytes act the part of grateful and affectionate children and gradually become useful members of the community."

The *Journal* states, in reference to the Mission of Santa Barbara:

"We were told that a thousand dollars was the usual allowance for establishing any of these Missions at first set out and that each of the Fathers received four hundred dollars a year for the support and to procure them necessities."

"Life and Works of the Rev. Ferdinand Konseak, S. J., 1703-1759, an early Missionary in California," by Msgr. M. D. Krmpotic, has been published by the Stratford Company, Boston, 1923. The life is based upon Father Konseak's original letters and gives us an English version—albeit a very poor one—of Konseak's famous explorations in Lower California where the worthy missionary spent twenty-eight of his best years.

First Catholic Church in Muscatine, Iowa.—The earliest place of worship in Muscatine, Iowa, is thus referred to in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for July. A pioneer, writing in 1843, says: "There are more than seven hundred people in the town, and there is no meeting-house in the place *except* a small Romish chapel, which opened only occasionally." This chapel is said to have stood at the corner of Second and Cedar Streets, "where, in the rear of the Graham Drug Store, it stands yet." Muscatine, first called Bloomington, was settled in 1836. A French priest named Father Pierre Laurent, spent more than fifty years of his life in the town, ministering to the wants of his flock.

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La Salle's Colony.—"The Location of La Salle's Colony on the Gulf of Mexico," is the title of an article in the January, 1924 issue of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, written by Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. The article is a reprint of its original appearance in the *Mississippi Historical Review* for September, 1915. There have been much discussion and conjecture among historians as to the exact site of this colony. Newly discovered records existing in the Spanish archives "simply settle the matter once for all and without argument," writes Professor Bolton, and it is a survey of these new documents that is presented to historical students in the article mentioned. The settlement, made by La Salle in 1690, was supposed by Parkman, H. H. Bancroft and other historians to have been located on the Lavaca River, Texas. The proof showing its true site on the Garcitas River has come to light in a map of the Llanos expedition of 1690, "drawn so accurately that we are able to identify practically every point which Llanos, Salinas and Cardenas visited." The map, which appears in the diary of a member of the Llanos expedition, is reproduced in the article before us. The Garcitas River empties into the Arenoso, which flows into Lavaca Bay, one of the arms of Matagorda Bay, Texas. The records lately discovered consist of the proceedings of a junta or council held in Mexico, August 29, 1690, also a decree of the viceroy dated at Mexico, November 12, 1690, reviewing the action of the Junta and the subsequent proceedings, and lastly, the diary of the expedition.

Georgia and South Carolina.—"The Spanish period of Georgia and South Carolina History, 1566-1702," is the first of a series of Studies issued by the University of Georgia (Athens, Ga., May, 1923), written by J. G. Johnson. Georgia, or Guale as it was first called, and South Carolina, called Santa Elena or Orista, were the scenes of vigorous colonizing movements on the part of Spain before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock or the Ark and the Dove brought the Catholics of Lord Baltimore's colony to Maryland. Menéndez reached the coast of Georgia in 1566 and at the Indian village of Guale a beginning was made by the Spaniards of his party in instructing the natives in the Catholic religion. Three Jesuits, Martinez, Rogel and Villareal, were later sent to Florida but turned back at Cumberland Island when Martinez, their conductor, was murdered by the Indians. In 1568 two Jesuits came to Georgia, mastered the language of the Indians and wrote a grammar. The Jesuits in South Carolina at the same time met with difficulties, were driven to Virginia where they founded a mission—probably on the Rappahanoek River—and were finally murdered in an uprising led by Powhatan's father, according to tradition. After 1588 the history of Spanish occupation is, says Mr. Johnson, largely an account of the Franciscan missions and missionaries. They were the real bulwarks of the northern frontier of Florida. San Pedro Mission was established on Cumberland Island. In 1592 there were only five Franciscans in Florida. Father Silva and his companions arrived in 1593, and were followed by other Franciscans who established missions along the coast and on the islands. An insurrection in 1597 led to murder of Father Corpa and Father Rodriguez, and to the destruction of all the Franciscan Island missions. These missions were not restored until 1606. San Pedro, of all the Guale missions, escaped destruction.

Another expedition, made into the interior of Georgia, reached probably Stone Mountain—on which the great sculptures depicting scenes of the Confederacy are now being cut. In 1633 missionaries were sent to the Apalache Indians. "The Spaniards found the mission to be the most useful device for controlling the Indians," writes Mr. Johnson, "and by controlling the Indians it was hoped to ward off further intrusions by the English and French." More Franciscans came to Florida in 1612, 1615, 1630 and later. In 1635 there were said to be 5,000 Apalache converts; but revolts were frequent and trouble with the English began in 1670. The mission development was at its highest point between 1670 and 1675. "There were now thirty-five missions scattered over the provinces

of Florida, serving 20,000 neophytes." The English in Carolina had by 1684 become a serious menace to the missions along the coast of Georgia. St. Catharine's Island mission was sacked. Favor was shown by the English colonists to pirates visiting the coast. Florida by 1690 seemed doomed to abandonment. In 1700 Governor Moore of South Carolina, taking advantage of the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe, moved southward along the coast, the mission for Indians of Georgia was removed to the islands near the capital, the Franciscans were forced to flee, and by 1702 the Spanish régime came to an end.

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL.

Chicago, Ill.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

The Greatest Day in the History of Chicago. The Mayor of the city of Chicago in an address to an assemblage of Chicago people including a large number of children from the public schools of the city called the day of the visit of Father Marquette to the site of the present city, two hundred and fifty years ago, the greatest day in the history of Chicago, and he was entirely correct. This assemblage was held on the banks of the Chicago River near the approach to the great bridge that has been built across the river on Michigan Boulevard and an interesting feature of the program consisted of casting flowers on the waters of the river in commemoration of the passage of Father Marquette and his companions over the river. The meeting was held on the 8th of December, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception.

Because the exercises were beautiful and impressive one hesitates to speak of the distortion of history implied in the date and the place. Father Marquette was not near the Chicago River in December, 1673. He passed down the river with Jolliet and five companions and a young Indian boy in August, 1673, and returned to the mission from whence he began his journey in September. The next year he returned, landing at the mouth of the Chicago River, which was then at what is now the foot of Madison Street, on December 4, 1674. Here he remained until December 11th when his canoe was dragged up the river on the ice to what is now the junction of Robey street and the Drainage Canal. Accordingly, he was at the mouth of the river, (foot of Madison street) on December 8th, two hundred and forty nine years prior to this observance, 1924, therefore is the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Father Marquette's residence in what is now Chicago. The place of his residence were: December 4th to December 11th, 1674, at the point now marked by the junction of Madison street and the lake, and from December 12th, 1674 to March 29, 1675, at what is now the junction of Robey street and the Drainage Canal.

The observance was appropriate for the passage of the first white men down the Chicago River in 1673, though held three months later in the year. A great pageant should mark the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the residence of Father Marquette in what became Chicago, which will occur this year. Such an observance would appropriately be held on the Lake front and if held on December 8th it would be appropriate as to time for Marquette was actually there on that date.

More than a pageant should be enacted in commemoration of the first white residents of this region, however. A worthy statue should be erected there which would bear testimony to future generations of the most momentous event in the history of Chicago.

The Notable Anniversaries. It cannot be too often repeated that we are living through some very notable anniversary years. 1923, 1924 and 1925 mark the beginning of history and Christianity in the heart of America. These are the anniversaries (250th) of the birth years of Illinois and the entire Mississippi Valley.

Repeating for emphasis: It was in August and September, 1673, that the first white men, Father James Marquette and Louis Jolliet, passed down the Mississippi River, up the Illinois and over the Chicago to Lake Michigan, noting their discoveries and giving their knowledge to the world.

It was in December (4th), 1674, that Father Marquette, in compliance with his promise and fulfilling his intention, landed at the mouth of the Chicago River, then at the foot of what is now Madison Street, Chicago, where he remained seven days, after which he passed up the river and resided on the south branch near what is now Robey Street and the Drainage Canal until the 29th of March, 1675.

And finally, it was on the 11th of April, 1675, that the same Father Marquette, after due preparation established the Church at a point now within the corporate limits of the city of Utica in La Salle County, Illinois.

During 1923, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Father Marquette's first visit was observed and celebrated in various localities. It is natural to expect that during this year the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his residence in Chicago will be appropriately celebrated in Chicago. There are also good reasons for supposing that next year the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Church will be celebrated in Utica and elsewhere throughout Mid-America.

Practical Welfare Work. It may be that the era of practical welfare work is upon us and that ours will be known to history as the generation that solved the most difficult of life's temporal problems.

After many years of study and many more years of agitation the world seems at last to have become alive to the two most distressing incidents of modern civilized life. That is, the problems of indigent old age and of enforced or inescapable unemployment.

Germany, France, England, Sweden and other European nations have passed the stage of argument with respect to these matters long since and are in the operative stage, with varying success. It is perhaps true that Sweden has the most successful system, but all are working towards perfection, the war torn countries very much handicapped of course.

The new world is falling in line. Canada has an admirable system of government welfare benefits touching almost all necessities but especially meritorious in the matter of old age benefits.

The latest American country to take the center of the stage in this sort of work is Argentina, South America. From all reports the Argentinian system as enacted into law is the broadest and most far-reaching of any yet crystallized into legislation. It may be that it is too broad and promises too much since it proposes pensions at the early age of forty-five. It goes without the saying that no more can be paid out of any treasury than is received therein for the purpose and the Argentine plan may be faulty in this respect as its critics charge, but there can not longer be doubt as to the principle being most humane and the movement most praiseworthy.

Several of the States of the United States have gone so far as to adopt laws for old age benefits and we confidently expect that within the next decade every state in the Union will have such laws in operation.

The reason for this advance is not far to seek. It is a man made reason and the result of the working of modern civilization. Do what we will the great majority of men and women will suffer from unemployment and will approach old age without a competence, indeed in many cases wholly without means. As a consequence of either these misfortunes the capacity of the victims is reduced, not alone by fear and worry, but by actual deprivation. If by any possible means the awful dread of unemployment and indigent old age can be relieved or even mitigated, all right thinking men will be willing to adopt that means. As to the burden of such a system of relief, it must, if systematized, be much less than that of the poor house, the insane asylums and too a large extent the prisons, all of which are in a greater or less degree made necessary by the conditions that create unemployment and poverty.

The Best Method of Teaching History. It is being demonstrated that the best method of teaching history is by the motion picture plan. The pictures viewed most numerous are those that depict some phase of history in an attractive manner. Witness the several pictures that present the period of Henry VIII, the Crusades, the French Revolution, or life on the great western plains, such as the "Covered Wagon" and other picturization of Hough's books. So too the present spectacle presenting the great Cardinal Richlieu, and the perhaps more spectacular "Ten Commandments."

Some time, maybe, Catholic enterprise will arise to the successful achievement of depicting Catholic history. It would be of immense value and the field is practically unlimited. While waiting for such a time it is not inappropriate to endeavor to have historical films viewed, criticised and if possible made to square with the truth. For in the great motion pictures as well as in the great periodicals there is still a tendency to sin either by omission or commission against the Church. To say or depict untruths, expressly or by inference; to say too little or too much or to do injustice by silence.

There are reasons for believing that the producers have learned that it is not advantageous to permit their pictures to be faulty in any of these respects. It gets them nothing to offend any large class of the public. It may therefore, be set down as a strong probability at least that defects of the character alluded to are the results of ignorance or negligence. If the producers knew in advance that their offerings contained defects it is highly probable they would eliminate them.

This supposition suggests the idea of some authoritative body to which films might be submitted for the discovery and prevention of such errors.

History Making Changes in Catholic Jurisdiction. Within recent months two very important changes have taken place in the organization of the Church in Illinois. By one the see site of the diocese in the center of the State has been changed from Alton to Springfield and by the other the Archbishop of Chicago has been raised to the cardinalate.

The diocese of Alton was carved out of the original Illinois diocese (Chicago) which at first embraced the entire state, on January 9, 1857. Prior to this time (July 29, 1853) a new diocese had been created and Quincy was

named as the see city, but the French clergyman named as bishop never came to claim his see, and when the matter was again taken up the see city was changed to Alton.

Now, after a lapse of sixty-four years another change has brought the seat of the bishop to Springfield, the state capital. It is of interest to note that as early as 1836, eight years prior to the establishment of the diocese of Chicago, Father St. Cyr, who had been asked by Bishop Rosati to look the ground over and advise him what point in Illinois would be the most suitable for the residence of a bishop when one should be appointed, recommended Springfield.

In elevating Archbishop Mundelein to the cardinalate the religious status of Illinois and the Middle West has been greatly exalted. While it may be true that the jurisdictional status is practically unchanged the standing of the region in the world church is greatly raised. New powers and corresponding responsibilities have been added that will be reflected to all the people.

With a cardinal in the chief city and a bishop in the capitol of the State, Illinois stands at the beginning of a new era in Church history and activity.

BOOK REVIEW

The Knights of Columbus in Illinois. The above is the title of a book of nearly 1,000 pages just issued by the State Council of the Knights of Columbus of the State of Illinois.

The volume was prepared by Past State Deputy, Joseph J. Thompson, who has been a member of the Order almost since the introduction of the society in the State and who has held many official positions including the office of State Deputy. He is accordingly well acquainted with the activities of the society and conclusively proves his familiarity with all the work of the Order in the contents of the book.

There are in effect three parts of the work, the first part treating in five chapters the origin and character of the Order, its relations with the Church, the insurance system, historic Knighthood and the protonym, Columbus.

The second part deals in nine chapters with the local councils, the State Council, the Chicago Chapter, the Fourth Degree, ceremonies, miscellaneous activities and post war work.

The third part has relation to the World War and in four extended chapters the war story is told in full. In this part are set forth the names of the twelve thousand members who served from Illinois, the list and stories of those who died and those cited or decorated. The details of the war work and the names and accounts of the Illinois war chaplains and Knights of Columbus secretaries.

It is believed that no book published since the war has been as satisfactory or authoritative in reference to the war record and it is but justice to say that the portions of the book relating to other works of the Knights in Illinois are eminently satisfactory.

The book is handsomely bound and excellently manufactured. It contains numerous illustrations, well selected. The selling price has been fixed at \$1.75. Copies may be secured from the Council Secretary or from the Chicago Chapter, Knights of Columbus, 165 West Madison Street, Chicago.—*Western Catholic* (Quincy, Ill.).

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION,
ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF
AUGUST 24, 1912,

Of ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, published quarterly at Chicago,
Illinois, for April 1st, 1924.

STATE OF ILLINOIS, COUNTY OF COOK—SS.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared, Joseph J. Thompson, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Illinois Catholic Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.

Corporation not for profit.

Editor, Joseph J. Thompson, Chicago, Ill.

Managing Editor, Joseph J. Thompson, Chicago, Ill.

2. That the owner is: The Illinois Catholic Historical Society, Chicago, Ill., Rev. Frederic Siedenbureg, S. J., Pres., Chicago, Ill., P. J. Murphy, Treas., Chicago, Ill.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

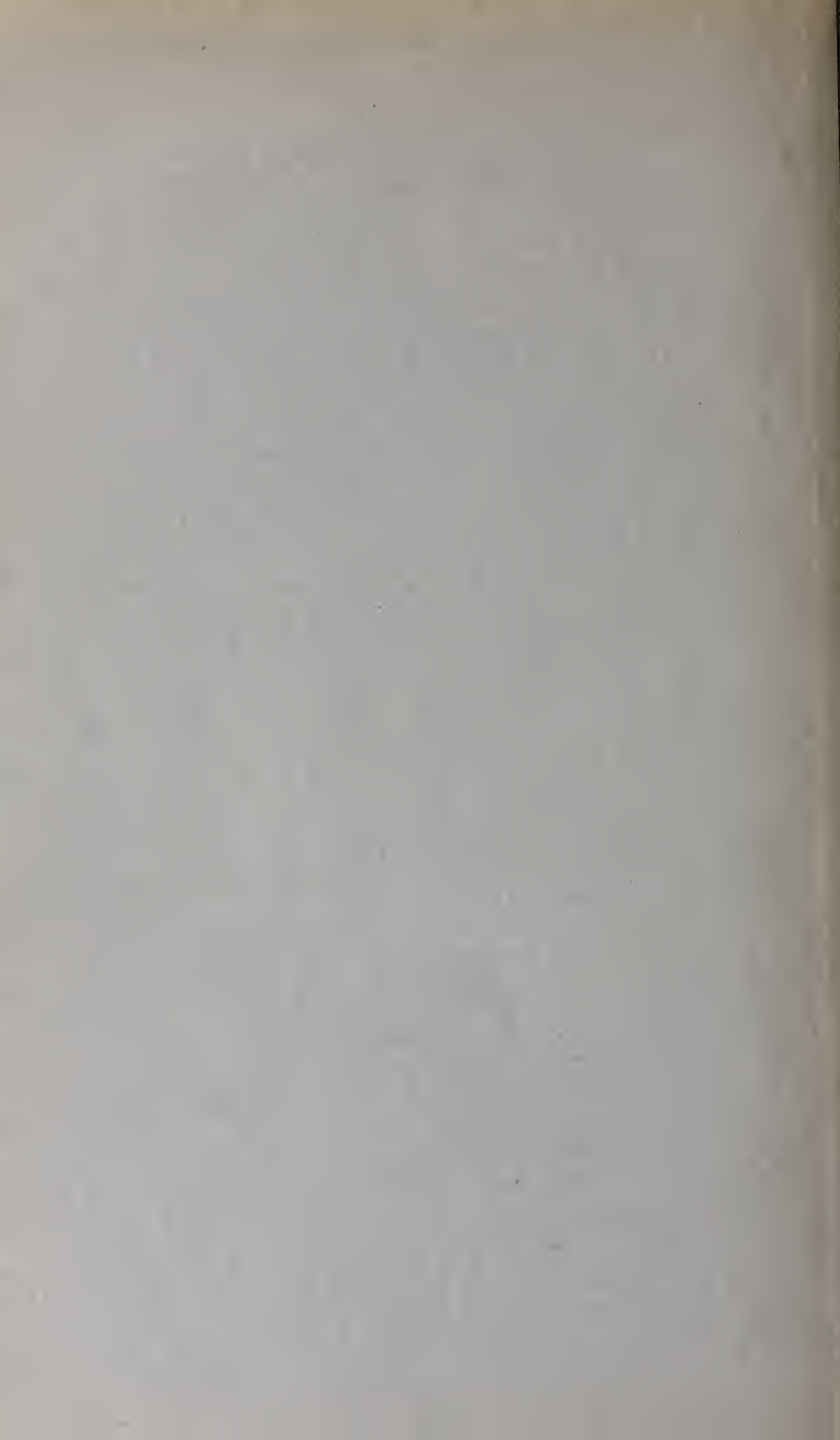
JOSEPH J. THOMPSON, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day April, 1924.

(SEAL) ANTON O. LANDES, Notary Public.

(My commission expires April 26th, 1926.)





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